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PREFATORY NOTE

THESE Studies are published by authority of Harvard University and are contributed chiefly by its instructors and graduates, although contributions from other sources are not excluded. The publication is supported by a fund of \$6000, generously subscribed by the class of 1856.

CLEMENT LAWRENCE SMITH,	}	EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.
CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE,		
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Died

At Cambridge, on October 11th, 1901,

JAMES BRADSTREET GREENOUGH,

in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

The Fourteenth Volume of the Studies will be dedicated to the memory of Professor Greenough and will contain a sketch of his life and services.



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THE POLITICS OF THE PATRICIAN CLAUDII

BY GEORGE CONVERSE FISKE

IN this paper I shall endeavor to determine what general policy was advocated by the members of the Claudian gens who were active in Roman politics from the beginning of the republic down to the time of the Gracchi.¹ Upon this subject four distinct views are held. In the first place, ancient historians, of whom Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, and Appian are the principal representatives, look upon the family as ultra-patricians. Thus Livy, in describing Appius Claudius, consular tribune of 403, dictator 362, consul 349, says:² 'Claudiae genti iam inde ab initio nihil antiquius in re publica patrum maiestate fuisse, semper plebis commodis adversatos esse.'

Of modern historians Herzog³ approaches most closely this traditional theory. He looks upon the Claudii as ultra-patricians, but believes that they wished to encourage the growth of a state within the state, to build up by the side of the patrician order a parallel plebeian order, well organized under strictly plebeian officials, but having no share in the larger activities of the state. In order to secure such dependence the tribunate was first of all to be abolished, and the union of the more progressive of the nobility with the tribunician families was opposed. In short, the Claudii were reactionaries, who wished to 'shepherd' the *plebs* in the omniscient fashion of the regal period.

The third view is that of Mommsen.⁴ Relying partly upon certain general Claudian characteristics, such as interest in literature and military incapacity, but principally upon a critical examination of the policy of the leading members of the house, Mommsen endeavored to show that the family were in reality champions of the plebeians. He even

¹ 495-133 B.C.

² Liv. 6, 40, 3. Cf. also Liv. 9, 33 ff.

³ *Römische Staatsverfassung*, Vol. I, pp. 179 ff. and pp. 265 ff.

⁴ *Römische Forschungen*, p. 287 ff.: *Die Patricischen Claudier*. Berlin, 1864.

suggested that the traditional view of the family might be traced to deliberate falsification on the part of one of the annalists, possibly Licinius Macer.

The fourth view is that held by Nitzsch,¹ who believes that the policy of the decemvir, the censor, and the Claudius of the First Punic War had a common basis. They were representatives of the trading and commercial interests, advocates of expansion, and the champions of the *plebs urbana*. It was this guardianship of the despised city classes that brought them into conflict with the militant *plebs rustica*.

The proper method to decide which of these views is correct, or whether any of them is correct, is to review briefly all the ancient testimony dealing with the politics of the Claudian family, and from a critical examination of the facts thus gathered to formulate if possible such a general hypothesis as will best establish the broad outlines of a clan policy.² To prove the existence of such a policy it is not needful to make a sort of mathematical formulá by which all the acts of the family may be solved as by a convenient process of substitution, but rather to give a rational explanation based upon a complete knowledge of the facts, an explanation which shall show a consistent development of policy along certain broad lines, due allowance always being made for the freedom of the individual and the changes wrought in political conditions by the lapse of time. Bearing these general considerations in mind we may begin our inquiry by examining the story of Attus Clausus, the founder of the family.

According to tradition the founder of the house was a Sabine of the town of Regillum or Inregillum, whose *praenomen* is variously given as Atta, Attius, Attus; his *nomen* as Clausus.³ The romanized form is said

¹ *Geschichte der Römischen Republik*. Leipzig, 1884.

² So far as I have been able to discover, this method has not yet been attempted by any of the writers on the subject. Mommsen's investigation is based upon a study of only the more important acts of the leaders of the family, while Herzog and Nitzsch have only suggested the lines along which such an inquiry should proceed, without collecting the evidence. I have to thank Dr. G. W. Botsford for the suggestion of this article and for much valuable advice and criticism.

³ Cf. Schwegler, *Geschichte*, II, p. 57, note 5, for the various forms of the *praenomen*. Though etymology gives but little help, the fact that in Festus, p. 12 and 13 (M), Atta is compared with *avus* and *atarus* is suggestive.

to have been Appius Claudius.¹ The most succinct form of his story is given by Livy: 'Attius Clausus, cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romae nomen, cum pacis ipse auctor a turbatoribus belli premeretur nec par factioni esset, ab Inregillo, magna clientium comitatus manu, Romam transfugit; his civitas data agerque trans Anienem: vetus Claudia tribus, additis postea novis tribulibus, qui ex eo venirent agro, appellata. Appius inter patres lectus haud ita multo post in principum dignationem pervenit.' Of similar tenor, though with added picturesque details, is the account given by Dionysius.² The accounts of Appian and Plutarch³ are also much fuller than Livy's; Plutarch, indeed, makes Attus Clausus come to Rome at the invitation of Poplicola.

The essential points in the tradition are (1) the coming of a Sabine family with its clients to Rome after the expulsion of the kings; (2) the assignment of a definite portion of land in severalty to the new-comers, the leader getting by far the lion's share;⁴ (3) the election of the leader to the senate, which is equivalent to his admission into the patriciate.⁵ What judgment has modern criticism to pass on this tradition?

In the first place the belief in a Sabine origin is probably correct, for such a legend would rest upon a well established family tradition. Moreover, we hear of similar legends in other families; thus the Alban origin of the Julian gens is attested by the gentile altar at Bovillae.⁶ Suetonius tells of a similar migration of the family of Vitellius.⁷ Still more important, the *Fasti Capitolini* add *Inregillensis* or *Sabinus* as an epithet to several members of the gens.⁸ Moreover, the peculiar name

¹ Liv. 2, 16, 3; cf. Zonar. 7, 13, B; Gell. 13, 23, 8. Servius, on *Aen.* 7, 706, probably used Livy as source. Cf. also Liv. 4, 3, 14; 10, 8, 6.

² 5, 40, 3 ff.

³ App. *ἐκ τῆς Βασιλικῆς*, frag. 12, ed. Mendel; Plut. *Popl.* 21.

⁴ App. *l. c.* οἱς πᾶσι Ῥωμαῖοι χώραν ἐς οἰκίας ἔδωσαν καὶ γῆν ἐς γεωργίαν καὶ πόλιν ἐθέοντο. Plut. *l. c.* ἀπένειμεν ἐκάστῳ δυοῖν πλῆθρων παρὰ τὸν Ἀνίωνα ποταμὸν· τῷ δὲ Κλαύδιῳ πλεῖθρα πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι γῆς ἔδωκεν. Cf. also Dionys. *l. c.*; Liv. 2, 16, 3; Suet. *Tib.* 1.

⁵ App. *l. c.* τὸν δὲ Κλαύδιον καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον κατέλεξαν. Dionys. *l. c.* ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος εἰς τοὺς πατρικίους αὐτὸν ἐνέγραψε. Cf. Plut. *Popl.* 21; Liv. 2, 16, 3; 4, 3, 14; 10, 8, 3; Suet. *Tib.* 1; Zon. 7, 13, B.

⁶ Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2, 41; 15, 23; Suet. *Aug.* 100; *CIL.* I, 807. Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Myth.* I, p. 263; Marq. *Sacrales.* p. 133, note 5.

⁷ *Vitell.* 1. Cf., however, Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, Vol. III³, I, p. 31, note 4.

⁸ *CIL.* I, p. 426 (*a. u. c.* 303, 304); p. 430 (*a. u. c.* 392); p. 431 (*a. u. c.* 405).

Appius, found in no other Roman gens, is probably of Sabine origin.¹ And finally the *cognomen* Nero, borne by a distinguished branch of the gens, is almost certainly Sabine.²

But there seem to be decisive objections to the *form* of the tradition which assigns the migration of the family to the period immediately after the expulsion of the kings. For at this period Rome, shorn of its former regal domains, would be especially weak and unattractive to strangers. Then again the patriciate, through whose influence the Tarquins must have been expelled, would now be entering upon its policy of exclusiveness. Thirdly, it is hardly conceivable that the head of a foreign gens admitted into the state in the year 504 B.C. should be almost immediately (495 B.C.) advanced to the consulship. Moreover, although during the first two centuries of the republic we hear practically nothing of the admission of foreign gentes into the state, under the kings we hear of several such admissions.³ Finally we have another tradition,⁴ which places the arrival of the Claudian gens under the kings. This form of the tradition seems much more reasonable *a priori*, but after all we are probably dealing with one of those very early family traditions, originally handed down without date, which was afterwards assigned to a definite epoch, and consequently one better known, by the pragmatic historians of a later period.⁵

The assignment of a definite territory to the followers of Clausus is to be regarded as an aetiological account designed to interpret the undoubted connection between the original tribes and the gentes. This connection is proved by the patrician names attached to six-

¹ Cf. the name Numerius, peculiar to the Fabian gens, also immigrants. Cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* I, 19.

² Suet. *Tib.* 1: Inter cognomina autem et Neronis assumpsit, quo significatur lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus. Nerio among the Sabines was also the name borne by the wife of Mars. Indeed, the gentile altar of the Claudian gens at Antium (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 15, 23) is the only fact which does not square with the Sabine origin of the family. But this altar may have been established later.

³ Cf. Dionys. 2, 46 and 3, 29 for the admission of seven Alban gentes among the patricians. Cf. also Liv. 1, 30, 3, and the story of Tarquinius Priscus.

⁴ Suet. *Tib.* 1: Inde Romam recens conditam cum magna clientium manu commigravit, auctore Tito Tatío consorte Romuli.

⁵ So Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* p. 72.

teen ancient tribes.¹ *Attus Clausus is the founder or practically the eponym of a certain patrician gens of Sabine origin,*² which with its dependents was settled in a certain portion of the Roman territory. At some indefinite but early date, when this gens grew powerful, its territory was made into a tribe, and the then head of the gens was received into the senate.³ The tribe naturally received its name from the eponymous hero (for such the first bearer of the gentile name practically is), whom the gens believed to be its founder.⁴ If the gens was connected with the tribe, the eponymous hero of the gens would naturally come to be associated with the senate, because when *historically* the gens was recognized by the state, the person then at its head would be admitted into the senate.⁵ When later the aetiological story arose, this eponym of the gens would be looked upon as the first of a long line of nobles to be admitted to the senate. Or, to give a concrete illustration, the legend would say: Attus Clausus, the Sabine, was made a patrician and elected to the senate at the same time that the Claudian gens with its dependents became a tribe.

It would seem, then, that this quasi-admission to the state must have occurred at an early period, for the gens was powerful enough to gain the consulship in the year 495 B.C. In that case Livy would seem to be wrong in placing the coming of the Claudii so late as 504; it is difficult to believe that a stranger coming to Rome in that year would

¹ Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III³, 1, p. 26 ff.

² Though doubtless of Sabine origin, it may not be necessary to assume migration of the Claudian gens within any period of which history can take cognizance; for Livy, I, 31, 1, represents the country south of the Anio as Latin, and regards the territory just across the river as debatable ground, though most of the actual settlements there are Latin. Pliny, however, *N. H.* 3, 54, makes the Anio the boundary between Sabine and Latin territory.

³ The Romans themselves seem to have regarded Clausus as a shadowy eponym. He is even classed with Aeneas. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4, 9, 3: cum origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas omnesque Albanorum reges et conditor urbis Romulus, post Sabina nobilitas, Attus Clausus ceteraque Claudiorum effigies longo ordine spectarentur. Cf. also 12, 25.

⁴ Cf. Fest. p. 233 (M): Papiria tribus a Papirio vocata est.

⁵ This connection of the gentes with the senate is illustrated in Roman history by the admission of the *patres minorum gentium* into the senate. Cf. Liv. I, 35, 6. So in Attica the close relation of the γένη and the Areopagus is well established.

become consul in 495. Moreover, we have just shown that Attus Clausus was a sort of eponym of the family, which was probably settled in Roman territory at a far earlier date. Hence we conclude that Livy identifies Appius Claudius, the consul of the year 495, with the eponym of the Claudian race. Nor is the reason far to seek; Livy would naturally consider the first historical member of the Claudian family whom he found in the annals identical with the founder of the family; in fact his annalistic sources may have made this erroneous combination before him. By adopting this view we get rid of the difficulty as to the time of the admission of the *tribus Claudia*,¹ for if the admission of the tribe to the state is naturally associated with the admission of the head of the gens to the senate, an identification of the founder of the gens with the first member of the gens known to history will naturally lead the pragmatic historian to transfer the admission of the tribe also to the better known period at the beginning of the republic.

Having thus shown that Attus Clausus is not to be identified with the consul of 495, we may now take up the history of this Appius Claudius, who may be regarded as the first member of the family clearly within the limits of our investigation.²

Appius Claudius is mentioned twice in inscriptions: first, in the *Fasti Capitolini*³ as the father of Appius Claudius the decemvir;⁴ second, in an inscription⁵ which reads:

AP. CLAVDIVS

Q · VRB

COS · CVM · P

SERVILIO · PRISCO.

¹ This view greatly simplifies the interpretation of Liv. 2, 16, 5; but a consideration of the relation of the *vetus tribus Claudia* with the *tribus Crustumina* is beyond the scope of this paper.

² It would be more accurate to call Marcus Claudius, the father of the consul, mentioned in the *Fasti* under the year 450 B.C. as grandfather of Appius Claudius the decemvir, the first historical member of the family. It seems much simpler to assume that the family had been in Rome for several generations before the son of this Marcus became consul than with Luebbert *De Gente Claudiana*, p. 9, to identify this Marcus arbitrarily with Attus Clausus.

³ Under the year 450; cf. *CIL*. I, p. 426.

⁴ Cf. p. 9.

⁵ *CIL*. I, p. 279, no. 8.

This Appius Claudius Pulcher in his consulship delivers several speeches against the *plebs* or in defence of their creditors, the patricians. In Dionysius, in fact, his whole career is dramatically set forth in six speeches,¹ which represent him as an ultra-patrician. But such speeches may more fairly be called rhetorical exercises than history; for they could have had no basis in the meagre notices of the annalists, the only sources of value for this early period. In general it holds true that these purely rhetorical speeches are used as the principal means for setting forth dramatically the ultra-patrician tendencies of the Claudii, especially in the case of the less known members of the gens.

Therefore the bald annalistic notice of Livy,² 'Aedes Mercuri dedicata est Idibus Maiis,' is of far greater historical value than all these artistic descriptions. Later on Livy³ elaborates this notice, recounting the quarrel between the consuls as to who should dedicate the building, the reference of the matter to the people and their decision, and finally the institution of a *collegium mercatorum* in connection with the temple.

The first notice may probably be accepted as genuine. It is annalistic in form, and, as religious records were always kept by the Romans with scrupulous care, especially likely to go back to an early date. Of the second it is much more difficult to speak. The story of the quarrel between the two consuls and the popular election of a dedicator may well have been a later addition by some writer who wished to find a precedent for the formal method of filling that post.⁴ On the other hand, it seems extremely probable that the foundation of a college of merchants would be associated with the dedication of a temple to

¹ Cf. 5, 66-68; 6, 38; 6, 59-65; 6, 68; 7, 48-54; 8, 73; cf. also 6, 24 and 6, 47 for summaries of speeches. Livy, 2, 21-29 *passim*, adopts to a large extent the same dramatic method. Cf. also Plut. *Gaius Marcius*, 19. It is curious that in the last speech given in Dionysius, 8, 73, which deals with the agrarian law of Spurius Cassius, Appius is represented as showing a more favorable attitude towards the plebeians. This suggests the possibility of another tradition as to the politics of the early members of the family, a matter which will be more fully considered in connection with Appius Claudius the decemvir.

² Liv. 2, 21, 7.

³ Liv. 2, 27, 5.

⁴ Cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, I², p. 42, note 5; II², p. 618; Marquardt, *Sacrales*, p. 273, note 2. On whole subject cf. Marq. *op. c.* p. 135, notes 1 and 2. Fest. p. 148 (M); Ovid, *Fast.* 5, 669; Cic. *ad Quint. frat.* 2, 5; *CIL.* I, p. 206.

Mercury, the god of trade. In any case the connection of this incident with the consulship of Claudius is striking, as a small but definite fact best explained by the theory of Nitzsch.

Gaius Claudius Sabinus is called by Livy the son of the Appius Claudius whom we have just described.¹ He is also called the uncle of Appius Claudius the decemvir. During his consulship in the year 460² occurred the capture of the Capitoline by Appius Herdonius and the Sabine conspirators. In the year 457 he opposed the increase of the number of the tribunes to ten.³ Again in the year 454 he opposed the giving up of the Aventine to the people.⁴ Dionysius represents him as so hostile to the violence of the decemvir, his kinsman, that he finally withdrew to the seat of the family at Inregillum.⁵

Although in general such an ardent patrician, if the ancient accounts may be trusted, like nearly every true Claudian he heartily hated the Valerian gens. Thus in the year 449⁶ he is represented as arguing against the triumph of Valerius and Horatius, whom he accuses of having betrayed the decemvir to the tribunes. He appears for the last time in the struggle over the Canuleian law.⁷

Gaius Claudius is a character whose outlines are enveloped in haze. Almost all our information about him is contained in speeches. It is doubtful if he was the uncle of Appius the decemvir. One or two conclusions may perhaps be drawn, of only approximate probability. In the first place he seems to have opposed⁸ the tribunician policy. Secondly, he was the adversary of the Valerian gens. His attitude

¹ Liv. 3, 15, 1; Dionys. 10, 9. In Liv. 3, 35, 9; 3, 40, 2, and Dionys. 11, 49 Gaius appears as the uncle of Appius Claudius the decemvir; but since, as I shall show below, Appius Claudius the consul of 471 is to be identified with the decemvir, it follows that the relationship between the two could not have been that of uncle and nephew, though in the absence of the *Fasti* it is difficult to say precisely what it was.

² On his consulship see Dionys. 10, 9-19; Liv. 3, 15-21, 8.

³ Dionys. 10, 30.

⁴ Dionys. 10, 32.

⁵ For his speeches cf. Dionys. 11, 7-15; for withdrawal, Dionys. 11, 22; Liv. 3, 58, 1. Later, however (cf. Liv. 6, 20, 3), he returned to defend the decemvir.

⁶ Dionys. 11, 49.

⁷ Dionys. 11, 55; 11, 56; Liv. 4, 6, 7.

⁸ Liv. 4, 6, 7: C. Claudii sententia consules armabat in tribunos.

towards the decemviral legislation, which is set forth almost entirely in speeches, is problematical.¹ His career certainly affords no support for Mommsen's theory, but should be regarded rather as an illustration of the traditional view of the family, supported, it will be observed, rather by rhetorical speeches than by recorded acts. In the absence of any such records to check the assertions of the speeches it is almost impossible to discover his real position.

Under the year 471 B.C. Livy says:² 'Plebs Voleronem tribunum re-fecit; patres, ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam, Ap. Claudium, Appi filium, iam inde a paternis certaminibus invisum infestumque plebi, consulem faciunt.' The statement of Dionysius³ is similar. These two authors, then, make this Appius the son, and Appius Claudius the decemvir the grandson, of the consul of 495. On the other hand, the *Fasti Capitolini* under 303 *a. u. c.* run:⁴

AP · CLAUDIVS · AP · F · M · N · CRASSINRIGILL

This would identify the consul of 471 with Appius the decemvir, who would thus become not the grandson, but the son, of the consul of 495. Before considering this consulship we must settle the question of identity.

The testimony of the *Fasti* seems more probable to me for three reasons. First, it represents in general a better, because a more direct, tradition than the testimony of Livy and Dionysius. Second, it seems unreasonable to suppose that an untried man, which Appius would have been according to the genealogy of Livy and Dionysius, would be placed at the head of a commission like the decemvirate, demanding maturity, legal knowledge, and political sagacity. Third, we seem to have preserved in Livy evidence that Appius Claudius had previously been of some importance in politics. The passage in question reads:⁵ 'Regimen totius magistratus penes Appium erat favore plebis.' This seems clearly to imply earlier political activity; for the *plebs* would hardly favor a man of whom they knew nothing. Nor does

¹ Liv. 3, 35, 9: Gaio Claudio, constantissimo viro in optinatum causa. On the other hand (cf. Dionys. 11, 49) he accuses the Valerii and defends the decemvir. Cf. also Liv. 3, 58, 1.

² Liv. 2, 56, 5.

³ Dionys. 9, 42.

⁴ *CIL*. I, p. 426.

⁵ Liv. 3, 33, 7.

Livy's further assertion, 'adeoque novum sibi ingenium induerat, ut plebicola repente omnisque auræ popularis captator evaderet pro truci saevoque insectatore plebis,' militate against this view. It is only Livy's clumsy effort to explain away the contradiction of a man whom he supposed to be an ultra-patrician appearing at the head of a commission which published a code of laws that would greatly benefit the plebeians. I shall therefore, in accordance with the evidence of the *Fasti*, assume that Appius Claudius the decemvir became consul for the first time in the year 471 B.C.¹

The most important event during the consulship of 471 was the contest over the famous Publilian law of Volero, which Appius, according to Livy and Dionysius, assailed vehemently. The fact of opposition to this law seems to be fairly made out, though the details are doubtless greatly embellished.² If, then, we can find out what the real purpose of the law was, we can perhaps form some idea of the policy of Appius.

Livy³ quotes the provisions of the law as follows: 'Rogationem tulit ad populum, ut plebei magistratus tributis comitiis fierent.' So also Dionysius: ⁴ νόμον εἰσφέρει περὶ τῶν δημαρχικῶν ἀρχαιρεσίῳν, μετάγων αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς φρατριακῆς ψηφοφορίας, ἣν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν κουριάτιν ἐπὶ τὴν φυλετικὴν. This law, which virtually established the *comitia tributa*, was of inestimable value to the plebeians. Only land-holders could vote in the *comitia tributa*; hence the law really laid the foundation of a free, landholding peasant caste, distinct on the one hand from the old patrician nobility, and on the other from the non-landholding city plebeians. As this last class must at this early period have stood

¹ According to Dionysius, 8, 90, Appius, a violent patrician, ran for the consulship in the year 483. He was set aside, however, by the opposition of the tribunes. This notice, which is found in no other ancient authority, may perhaps be rejected. It seems more than doubtful whether the tribunes, who were established only in 494, eleven years before, could have gained so great power. Second, and far more important, this incident comes in the midst of what we may call the Fabian period, in which the Fabii held several successive consulships. Cf. Liv. 2, 43, 1; 43, 11; 48, 1; 48, 8. Hence it seems improbable that the leaders of the Fabian family, in whose hands the government then rested, would push forward the Claudii, their rivals. The passage perhaps represents a sort of historical reconstruction made at a later period.

² Dionys. 9, 42; 9, 44-46; Liv. 2, 56.

³ Liv. 2, 56, 2.

9, 41, 2; cf. also 9, 43.

for the most part in the relation of clients to the patricians, we can see that through them the patricians could exercise a most important influence on elections; for though these clients had the technical right to vote in the *comitia*, they were held guilty of a sort of sacrilege if they voted differently from their patrons. This class of city clients therefore lost their vote in order that the body of the rustic plebeians might be sharply differentiated from the patricians by having the right to elect their own magistrates in their own assemblies. Opposition to this law, therefore, cannot be interpreted as in the interests of the plebeians, but must be explained either as in the interests of the old nobility or as an effort to preserve for the city classes their right to vote. In other words, this action of Appius, inexplicable from the standpoint of Mommsen, admits of consistent explanation by the hypothesis of Herzog or of Nitzsch.¹

If our identification of Appius is correct, we must reject all that is said about his trial and death in 471.² But before describing the struggle of the year 450, it is necessary to know something of the events leading up to the appointment of the decemviral commission.

After a long contest, beginning with the Terentilian rogation of 462 B.C.,³ it was finally decided that Rome should have a code of written law. In the year 454 B.C. ambassadors⁴ were sent to the Greek cities of lower Italy and to Athens to make a study of the constitutions of those states. When the commissioners returned in the year 451 it was ordered: 'creari decemviros sine provocatione et ne quis eo anno alius

¹ The quarrel with Laetorius (Liv. 2, 56, 10; Dionys. 9, 44-46), the story of the war with the Volsci (Liv. 2, 58-60; Dionys. 9, 50; Zonar. 7, 17), and the controversy over the agrarian law (Liv. 2, 61, 2-8; Dionys. 9, 52-54; Zonar. 7, 17, B), even if true, are incidents of no historical significance. The account of the war probably reflects in dramatic fashion the well-established belief of the ancient historians that the whole Claudian race was ineffective in the field.

² A comparison of the passages collected in the note above with the account of the last years of Appius Claudius the decemvir will reveal a striking general similarity.

³ Liv. 3, 9, 5; Dionys. 10, 1.

⁴ Liv. 3, 31, 8: Cum de legibus conveniret, de latore tantum discreparet, missi legati Athenas Sp. Postumius Albus, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius Camerinus, iussique inclitas leges Solonis describere et aliarum Graeciae civitatum instituta mores iuraque noscere. Cf. Dionys. 10, 51; 10, 52; Zonar. 7, 18 C.

magistratus esset.¹ There was some discussion as to how this board should be divided between the orders, but it was finally decided that it should be chosen from patricians and plebeians indiscriminately.² In point of fact only patricians were chosen,³ and among them Appius Claudius at once gained the leading position.⁴ The absence of plebeians from the board made no difference, for the decemvirs conducted themselves with much moderation⁵ and an era of good feeling prevailed among all parties at Rome.⁶ Ten tables of law were promulgated. When the end of the year drew near the work of the decemvirs had not yet been completed, for two more tables still remained to be

¹ Liv. 3, 32, 6. Cf. also 3, 33, 3: Decemviri creati Ap. Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Sestius, L. Veturius, C. Iulius, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius, P. Curiatius, T. Romilius, Sp. Postumius. Diod. 12, 23: ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ δέκα ἄνδρες κατεστάθησαν νομογράφοι Πόπλιος Κλώδιος Ῥηγυλλάνος, Τίτος Μινούκιος, Σπύριος Ουετούριος, Γαῖος Ἰούλιος, Γαῖος Σουλπίκιος, Πόπλιος Σήστιος, Ρωμύλιος, Σπύριος Ποστούμιος, Καλβίνιος. οὗτοι τοὺς νόμους συνετέλεσαν. Dionysius, 10, 54, 2137, describes the successful efforts of the popular leaders to get Appius, consul-elect for the year 450, interested in the measure. The *Fasti* for the year, though mutilated, contain the names of many of the decemvirs; cf. *CIL*. I, p. 426.

² Liv. 3, 31, 7: Si plebeiae leges displicerent, at illi communiter legum latores et ex plebe et ex patribus, qui utrisque utilia ferrent quaeque aequandae libertatis essent sinerent creari. Cf. also 3, 32, 7: Admischerentur plebei controversia aliquamdiu fuit; postremo concessum patribus, modo ne lex Icilia de Aventino aliaeque sacratae leges abrogarentur. Livy, then, implies that the plebeians voluntarily resigned certain places on the first decemvirate for other concessions.

³ Cf. *Fasti*, *CIL*. I, p. 426.

⁴ Liv. 3, 33, 7: Regimen totius magistratus penes Appium erat favore plebis. On early controversies cf. Dionys. 10, 55, 2140.

⁵ Liv. 3, 34, 1: Cum promptum hoc ius velut ex oraculo incorruptum pariter ab iis summi infimique ferrent, tum legibus condendis opera dabatur. Cf. Dionys. 10, 57, 2143.

⁶ Dionys. 10, 57, 2144: ἐλέχθη τε ὑπὸ πολλῶν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖσθαι δήμου προστατῶν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχέων τῇ πόλει, μᾶς διοικούσης ἅπαντα ἡγεμονίας σὺν φρονος, ἧς ἀρχηγὸς Ἀππίος εἶναι εἰδόκει. καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς δεκαδωχίας ἔπαινον ἐκεῖνος ἐφέρετο παρὰ τοῦ δήμου. Cf. also 10, 58, 2147. Cf. Liv. 3, 34, 1, on the laws: Ingentique hominum expectatione propositis decem tabulis populum ad contionem advocaverunt. Livy, 3, 34, 2-6, gives a pleasing, not to say idyllic account of their efforts to promulgate just laws. Cf. also Dionys. 10, 57, 2144: οὗτοι οἱ δέκα ἄνδρες συγγράψαντες νόμους ἐκ τε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀγράφων ἐθισμῶν προὔθηκαν ἐν δέκα δέλτοις τῷ βουλομένῳ σκοπεῖν.

added. Appius therefore determined to be a candidate for reëlection,¹ and an idea of making the decemvirate permanent may have arisen.² At any rate the most prominent members of the patrician aristocracy resolved to become candidates for office in the ensuing year,³ and to put Claudius out of the field by making him the presiding officer of the assembly. They expected that in accordance with precedent he would refuse to receive votes for himself. Claudius was not, however,⁴ to be cheated in this fashion. He not only canvassed votes for himself,⁵ but in alliance with the tribunician families of the Icillii and Duillii⁶ succeeded in controlling the election.⁷ The new board contained at least three plebeians, and the patricians elected, with the exception of Fabius, were men of no importance, completely under the sway of Appius.⁸ Thus in control of affairs the decemvirs, with Appius at their head,

¹ Liv. 3, 34, 7: *Vulgatur deinde rumor duas deesse tabulas, quibus adiectis absolvi posse velut corpus omnis Romani iuris. Ea exspectatio, cum dies comitorum appropinquaret, desiderium decemviro iterum creandi fecit.* Dionys. 10, 58, 2146: *πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκησεν ἡ γνώμη τῶν παραινούντων δεκαδρχίαν αὐτοῖς ἀποδεῖξαι τῶν κοινῶν κυρίαν. ἀτελής γὰρ ἡ νομοθεσία ἐφαίνετο.*

² Liv. 3, 34, 8: *Iam plebs, praeterquam quod consulum nomen haud secus quam regum perosa erat, ne tribunicium quidem auxilium cedentibus in vicem appellationi decemviris quaerebat.* Dionys. 10, 58, 2146: *καὶ ἔτι τοῖς ἤδη κεκυρωμένοις ἵνα ἐκόντες τε καὶ ἄκοντες ἐν αὐτοῖς μένοιεν ἐδόκει δεῖν τινος ἀρχῆς αὐτοκράτορος. τὸ δὲ μάλιστα πείσαν αὐτοὺς προελεσθαι τὴν δεκαδρχίαν, ἣν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων κατάλυσις, ὃ παντὸς μάλιστα ἐβούλοντο.* Hence we infer that with the popular consent both consulate and tribunate were to be abolished.

³ Liv. 3, 35, 1 and 2: *Postquam vero comitia decemviris creandis in trinum nundinum indicta sunt, tanta exarsit ambitio, ut primores quoque civitatis . . . prensarent, . . . honorem summa ope . . . ab ea plebe, cum qua contenderant, suppliciter petentes.* Cf. Dionys. 10, 58, 2146.

⁴ Liv. 3, 35, 7 and 8: *Ars haec erat, ne semet ipse creare posset, quod praeter tribunos, et id ipsum pessimo exemplo, nemo umquam fecisset.*

⁵ Liv. 3, 35, 8 and 9.

⁶ Liv. 3, 35, 5: *Criminari optimates, extollere candidatorum levissimum quemque humillimumque, ipse medius inter tribunicios Duillios Icilliosque, in foro volitare, per illos se plebi venditare. . . .*

⁷ Liv. 3, 35, 11: *Creati cum eo M. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Sergius, L. Minucius, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Poetilius, T. Antonius Merenda, K. Duillius, Sp. Oppius Cornicen, M'. Rabuleius.* Cf. Diod. 12, 24.

⁸ Dionys. 10, 58, 2148: *. . . ἄνδρες οὐ πάντῃ ἐπιφανεῖς· ἐκ δὲ τῶν δημοτικῶν Κόλιντος Ποιτέλλιος καὶ Δουέλλιος καὶ Σπόριος Ὀππιος.* Cf. also *Fassti*, *CIL*. I, p. 426.

entered upon a course of oppressive tyranny.¹ According to the ancient authorities the climax of their course was reached when they refused to resign their office at the end of the term,² and brought about the assassination of Siccius Dentatus³ and the death of Virginia.⁴ Then followed a revolution and a secession of the *plebs*, resulting in the abolition of the decemvirate, the restoration of the tribunate, and the passage of the Valerio-Horatian laws.⁵

Let us now examine how each of the four theories already mentioned accounts for these facts. First, the theory of the ancient authorities. Dionysius⁶ tells us that the people gave Appius the praise flowing from the conduct of the decemvirate. Of the conduct of Appius during the

¹ Liv. 3, 36; Dionys. 11, 22.

² Liv. 3, 36, 9: *Opinio etiam sine auctore exierat, non in praesentis modo temporis eos iniuriam conspirasse, sed foedus clandestinum inter ipsos iure iurando ictum, ne comitia haberent perpetuoque decemviratu possessum semel obtinerent imperium.* In Dionys. 11, 6, 2173, Appius is made to say: οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδέλχθημεν οὐδ' εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ χρόνον ὠρισμένον, ἀλλ' ἕως ἂν καταστησώμεθα πᾶσαν τὴν νομοθεσίαν. Cf. in general Liv. 3, 37, 4-38, 1; Dionys. 10, 59.

³ Liv. 3, 43; Dionys. 11, 25-28.

⁴ Liv. 3, 44-48; Dionys. 11, 28-39. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the story of Virginia. It seems to me impossible to decide whether it is substantially true, or a popular legend, originally current without particular date, but at a later period attached to Appius Claudius. Even if substantially correct, the incident could not have been the *real* cause of the revolution; for the fall of the decemvir was due to the union of the patricians and the rustic *plebs* under the leadership of the tribunes. On the other hand, the evidence in favor of regarding the story as a popular legend has weight. Livy (3, 44, 1) himself notices the close parallel between this story and that of Lucretia. In the new Pauly lexicon it is pointed out by Münzer, the author of the article on the decemvir, that even in Cicero's time (cf. Ascon. on *pro Cornelio*, p. 68) the story knew no definite names. So also in Diodorus, 12, 24, whose account probably goes back to very early sources, we are merely informed: εἰς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐρασθὲς εὐγενοῦς παρθένου πενιχρὰς κτλ. This certainly looks like a typical story, and the phrase *εὐγενὲς παρθένος πενιχρὰς* seems to me to imply a girl of patrician birth. Moreover, as Eduard Meyer, *Rh. Mus.* XXXVII, p. 618, has pointed out, the tendency in the history of the decemvirate to develop by vivid examples the idea of the extraordinary powers enjoyed by the commission is very noticeable. Cf. also Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II³, 1, p. 716. On the legal aspects of the case cf. R. Maschke, *Der Freiheitsprozess im klassischen Alterthum insbesondere der Prozess um Virginia*, Berlin, 1888.

⁵ Liv. 3, 49-55 *passim*; Dionys. 11, 40-45.

⁶ 10, 58, 2149.

second year Livy¹ says: 'Ille finis Appio alienae personae ferendae fuit; suo iam inde vivere ingenio coepit, novosque collegas, iam priusquam inirent magistratum, in suos mores formare.' Livy and Dionysius² therefore regard the conduct of Appius during the first year as mere hypocrisy, that of the second year as a revelation of his true character. Besides being open to psychological objections this view can hardly be said to account satisfactorily for the facts. Is it reasonable to suppose that mere hypocrisy would go so far as to pass a code of laws of the utmost benefit to the plebeians? Moreover, if Claudius was a champion of the patricians why did so many of the patrician gentes oppose him,³ and seek to secure the election of some of their own order for the second year?⁴ Why were the Valerian and the Horatian families the leaders of the movement that brought about his overthrow? Why did Claudius himself elect only mean patricians and even several plebeians?⁵ These are a few of the questions that naturally suggest themselves when we read the account of the ancient historians. They are not to be answered by the simple hypothesis that the decemvirs were aiming at royal power. In fact the traditional account of the decemvirate involves so many contradictions that even Herzog, who sticks closest to the ancient view, is forced to make a wide deviation.⁶

Summarily stated, Herzog's view is that Appius Claudius wished to remove the permanent opposition of the tribunes, not by admitting them to the patriciate, but by preserving their strictly plebeian character. He even proposed to strengthen the barriers between the two classes by the refusal of the *conubium*.⁷ On the other hand, a limitation of the power of the magistrates and senate was to be made in such a manner that the preponderance of the patricians was still assured, but to the plebeians was given a sort of minority representation.

Herzog accounts for the fact that there was some patrician opposition to the work of Appius, but it is clear that even from our modern standpoint he makes the decemvirs occupy a quixotic position. His view

¹ Liv. 3, 36, 1. Cf. 3, 33.

² Cf. 10, 57 ff. *passim*.

³ Liv. 3, 37, 2: *Primores patrum odisse decemviros, odisse plebem*. Cf. Dionys. 11, 22.

⁴ Cf. p. 13.

⁵ Cf. p. 13.

⁶ Cf. Herzog, *op. c.* p. 179 ff.

⁷ On the *conubium* cf. p. 21.

about minority representation is far-fetched, and he fails to explain how any considerable number either of patricians or plebeians could have been brought to favor such a theory; yet apparently Appius had the approval of the whole state during the first year. In short, minority representation, which even to-day is the property of political theorists rather than of practical statesmen, is an anachronism in the time of the decemvirs.

Mommsen's theory that Appius was acting as the champion of the plebeians well explains two facts: (1) that the legislation of the Twelve Tables was passed in answer to a plebeian demand; (2) that plebeians were members of the board during the second year. On the other hand, it throws no light on the positive testimony of all ancient historians that the plebeians in the second year, anxious to escape from the exactions of Appius and his colleagues, sought aid from the patricians.¹ The patricians, however, held back,² not that they loved Appius, but because they disliked to see the restoration of the tribunate. Finally, however, the *necessities of war* brought about the union of the plebeians and patricians; a *secession of the army*, that is a *secession of the rustic plebs under patrician leaders*, forced the decemvirs to lay down their office. The question is, put in homely fashion: Did Appius 'go back' on the plebeians or did the plebeians 'go back' on Appius? The former view is that enunciated in the ancient historians, the latter is that forced upon us by the hypothesis of Mommsen. In either case the sudden crisis has no sufficient motive in such stories as that of Siccius Dentatus or Virginia, and is in reality equally inexplicable by either of these two theories.

Finally, Nitzsch³ suggests that at the time when the laws of the Twelve Tables were passed a great trade revolution under the lead of Athens was going on all over the Mediterranean. This involved the improvement of the lower trading classes.⁴ It was at this juncture that Appius Claudius appeared, and sought, with his high appreciation of

¹ Liv. 3, 37, 1. Cf. 3, 38, 10.

² Liv. 3, 41, 5.

³ *Gesch. der Röm. Rep.* p. 70 ff.

⁴ Cf. Liv. 3, 35, 4: Appius . . . extollere candidatorum levissimum quemque humillimumque. Cf. also 3, 35, 9: Nequaquam splendore vitae pares decemviro creat.

Athenian economics, inspired also by the traditional policy of his house, to break up the power of the *plebs rustica*. By a division of power, which apparently satisfied all classes, he believed himself so far assured of support that, relying upon the *plebs urbana*, he made the attempt to give the constitution of Rome a turn in favor of trade relations. The reaction arose from the restlessness of the *plebs rustica* and of those patrician families who believed their interests endangered. The senate and consulate were restored and the old constitution was again set up.

So far as Athens is concerned the theory of Nitzsch is undoubtedly sound, for that city, as the result of the wise and liberal policy of Themistocles and Pericles, was then at the height of its economic and political supremacy. Furthermore, Droysen in his monograph *Athen und der Westen*,¹ has proved conclusively the existence of an active trade between Athens and Italy, carried on both directly and indirectly by way of Corinth and Corcyra. Long before the period of the decemvirs we may detect the influence of Greece upon Roman politics and religion. In the political sphere, for example, the timocratic Servian constitution at once suggests a parallel with the reforms of Solon; the Greek system of weights and measures and of silver coinage certainly served as a model for the Romans. In religion, however, this foreign influence, prevailing Greek, was most strongly felt. Hence we find that under the influence of the Sibylline books not only were Greek gods introduced at Rome, but the cult of many original Roman deities was assimilated in greater or less degree to that of the corresponding Greek divinities.²

When, however, we turn to the other side of the account and examine the condition of commerce at Rome before the decemvirs, we find surprisingly little evidence. The dynasty of the Tarquins, the use of Etruscan architects³ and of the Etruscan regalia for magistrates,⁴ the

¹ Berlin, 1882. The principal ancient passages illustrating this fact are: Herod. 8, 62; Plut. *Them.* 32; Xen. *Ath. Polit.* 2, 7; Aesch. *Eum.* 567; Athen. 27 E; 28 B; Pliny, *N. H.* 18, 12, 1; Aristoph. *Achar.* 925; Timaeus, *Frag.* 99 M. Cf. also Holm, *Griech. Gesch.* I, p. 295, note 11, and Droysen's monograph, *passim*.

² E. g. Apollo introduced, cf. Marq. *Sacrahes.* p. 359. Later Aesculapius, *ibid.* p. 376. For identifications, cf. Diana with Artemis, *ibid.* p. 361; Ceres with Demeter, *ibid.* p. 362; and p. 375, on dedication of temple to Mercury.

³ Liv. I, 56, 1.

⁴ Liv. I, 8, 3.

prominence of the *haruspices*,¹ the name *Vicus Tuscus*,² and notice of grain importations from Etruria, all show the community³ of interest then existing between Rome and Etruria. Ostia was of course founded for commercial purposes,⁴ and Antium must have been a trading centre.⁵ Moreover, fairs were held both at the temple of Diana on the Aventine and in the grove of Feronia at Soracte.⁶ In view of this paucity of evidence Mommsen's conclusion seems well founded, that in Latium commerce was passive and consisted principally in the exportation of raw products, and that Rome was still preëminently an agricultural community, with no special class of merchants engaged in transmarine commerce.⁷ We must not, however, too hastily infer that the artisan class and the small traders had gained no foothold at Rome. We have evidence to the contrary. Thus the foundation of eight guilds of craftsmen is assigned to the reign of Numa.⁸ In the census of Servius also we have two centuries of *fabri*.⁹ We hear of traders' booths about the forum,¹⁰ and Dionysius¹¹ mentions the condition and numbers of the trading classes several times. The meagreness of this evidence should not surprise us, for in the first place we must remember that the ancient historians had no conception of the importance of economic history; and in the second place, down to the time of the Second Punic War the basis of Roman civilization was mainly agricultural.

For the period of the decemvirate we have at least more abundant and explicit evidence of a direct and indirect connection between Greece

¹ Cf. Cic. *de Deor. Nat.* 2, 11.

² Liv. 2, 14, 9.

³ For grain importations in general, usually including Etruria, cf. Liv. 2, 34, 3; 4, 12, 9; 4, 25, 4; 4, 52, 5; Dionys. 5, 26; 7, 1.

⁴ Dionys. 3, 44; Liv. 1, 33, 9.

⁵ Dionys. 9, 56; Liv. 3, 1, 5.

⁶ Dionys. 3, 33; Liv. 4, 24.

⁷ Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* I⁸, p. 197.

⁸ Plut. *Numa*, 17; Flor. 1, 6; Fest. p. 149 (M); Marq. *Sacratwes.* p. 138. On other guilds cf. *CIL.* VI, 1872; Fest. pp. 210, 238; Orelli, 4091; Ovid, *Fast.* 3, 819-832. The semi-religious character of most of the guilds is one of the best proofs of their early origin.

⁹ Liv. 1, 43, 3 ff.

¹⁰ Liv. 3, 27, 2; Fest. p. 230: *Plebeias tabernas novas vocant nostra aetate, ut dicunt V tabernas esse, et septem feruntur olim fuisse.*

¹¹ Dionys. 6, 51; 9, 25; cf. also 10, 1; 10, 48.

and Rome; first, in the story of the embassy¹ sent to Athens to gather information about Athenian law, and in the closely related story of the Greek Hermodorus; second, in the evidence of Greek influence contained in the laws of the Twelve Tables themselves. The story of the embassy is given briefly by Livy: 'Missi legati Athenas Sp. Postumius Albus, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius Camerinus iussique inclitas leges Solonis describere et aliarum Graeciae civitatum instituta, mores, iuraque noscere.' This account is accepted by Busolt² as genuine, and as it is well attested by the ancient authorities and not intrinsically improbable, I am inclined to acquiesce in this decision. On the other hand, the story of the connection of the Ephesian interpreter Hermodorus with the code is very doubtful; the name itself suggests the ideal interpreter, 'the gift of Hermes.'³

Far more important, however, is the evidence of Greek influence to be found in the code of the Twelve Tables itself, both in general arrangement and in certain specific laws. Even here, however, we must never forget that the general character of the code is essentially Roman.⁴ Hence such broad statements as that of Pliny,⁵ 'hanc esse terram (*i. e.* Athens) quae nobis miserit iura, quae leges non victis sed petentibus dederit,' are merely illustrations of the common tendency of Roman writers to seek a Greek origin for Roman institutions. To Greek influence, however, was due a more compact and logical arrangement than is usual in such early codes.⁶ But this influence is most evident in certain laws which we are expressly told are imitations of Athenian law. Among these may be mentioned, (1) the law governing funeral expenses and the methods of mourning, copied from Solon's code;⁷ (2) a law on prodigality, said to be of Corinthian origin;⁸ (3)

¹ Liv. 3, 31, 8; Dionys. 10, 51, 2128; 10, 52, 2130; Cic. *pro Flacc.* 62; Pliny, *Epist.* 8, 24, 14; Hieron. *Chron.* 2, 105, ed. Schöne; Aug. *C. D.* 3, 17, 7, 10; Oros. *adv. Pag.* 2, 13; Lyd. *de Mag.* 1, 31; Cassiod. *Chron.*, ed. Momm. in *Abh. der kön. sächs. Ges. der Wiss.* VIII, 596.

² *Griech. Gesch.* III, 1, p. 522 (ed. 1897).

³ Plin. *N. H.* 34, 21; Strab. 14, 1, 25; *Dig.* 1, 2, 2, 4.

⁴ Voight, *Die XII Tafeln*, p. 15 ff.

⁵ *Epist.* 8, 24, 4. Cf. Dio. Cass. 44, 26; Serv. *Aen.* 7, 695; Arr. *Ars Tact.* 33, 5; Porcius Latro, in *Catil.* 20; Flor. 1, 17; Euseb. *Chron.* 2, 104, ed. Schöne.

⁶ Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 14.

⁷ Cic. *de Leg.* 2, 59; 2, 64. With these passages cf. Plut. *Solon*, 21.

⁸ Lydus, *de Mag.* 1, 42.

other laws more directly affecting the trading classes. Of this nature was the law on boundaries, said by Gaius to be copied directly from Solon;¹ and, still more important, the law on guilds within the state, of which Gaius says: 'Sodales sunt, qui eiusdem collegii sunt; quam Graeci *ἐταιρείαν* vocant. His autem potestatem facit lex pactionem quam velint sibi ferre, dum ne quid ex publica lege corrumpant. Sed haec lex videtur ex lege Solonis tralata esse.'² Finally it seems probable that some coinage regulations were included in the code. We know that in the laws of the Twelve Tables money sums are mentioned, and adding to this the fact that the annalistic notices set the first legal regulation of cattle fines just before the time of the decemvirs, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that the laws of the Twelve Tables first introduced a metallic coinage in place of a system of valuations in cattle.³

It would seem, then, that there probably was at Rome at the time of the decemvirs a considerable class of artisans, shopkeepers, and petty merchants, that communications were maintained with Etruria, southern Italy, and Sicily, and that the importance of a circulating medium was beginning to be felt. There is practically no evidence to show the existence of a commercial class engaged in foreign trade. It therefore seems dangerous to assume that Appius *was trying to legislate such a class into existence*. The trading classes were apparently in a subordinate position, which they may have had since the time of Servius Tullius. There is evidence that several of the laws of the Twelve Tables were passed in the interest of the trading classes. This is especially true of the law of the guilds. As a result of such laws at Athens demiurgic gentes like the *χαλκίδαι*, *πραξιεργίδαι*, *κροπίδαι*, *πέλεκες* began to be formed, as commerce grew.⁴ Hence the transference of this law to the code of the Twelve Tables, the regulations about coinage, and the demarcation of property, all show that the decemvirs, with Appius Claudius at their head, had a keen desire to improve the economic

¹ Gaius, *Dig.* 10, 1, 13.

² Gaius, *Dig.* 47, 22, 4: *ἐὰν δὲ δῆμος ἢ φράτορες ἢ ιερῶν ὀργίων ἢ ναῦται ἢ σῶσσιτοι ἢ ὁμόταφοι ἢ θιασῶται ἢ ἐπὶ λείαν οἰχόμενοι ἢ εἰς ἐμπορίαν, οἳ δὲ τούτων διαβῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους κύριον εἶναι, ἐὰν μὴ ἀπαγορεύσῃ δημόσια γράμματα.*

³ Hultsch, *Metrol.* p. 254, note 3, gives arguments and ancient evidence.

⁴ Cf. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* II², pp. 97, 98.

conditions of trade and property; but when Nitzsch assumes that this was the *main purpose* of their legislation he makes a mistake in emphasis.

The key to the history of the decemvirate is to be found in the struggle over the addition of the last two tables. In the first year Appius got into power by a union of all parties, the patricians, the rustic *plebs*, among whom the Icili and the Duilii are especially mentioned, and the city plebeians.¹ Though an era of good feeling² prevailed, we may detect signs of patrician opposition towards the end of the term in the efforts of the nobility to supplant Appius in office. This implies either a recognition on the part of the patricians of the power of the new magistracy or of the crucial character of the laws of the last two tables. In the election which followed, though the patricians seem as a whole to have opposed Appius, he won because the coalition of the rustic *plebs* and the 'worthless' patricians and their clients, that is the *plebs urbana*, remained faithful to him.

The real struggle in the history of the decemvirate must have come over the passage of the laws in the last two tables, which contained provisions so obnoxious to both patricians and rustic plebeians that it was impossible to get them ratified by the *comitia*.³ Moreover, the *plebs rustica*, on condition that these laws should be blocked, was willing to accept the alliance of the patricians.⁴ Now, if we can find just what the provisions in these two tables were, we can form some idea of what offended the rustic *plebs* and the patricians.

The refusal of the *conubium* was the most important provision that we know of in the last two tables.⁵ Now, such a refusal of the *conu-*

¹ Cf. p. 13. Liv. 3, 35, 5.

² Cf. p. 12.

³ Liv. 3, 51, 13: Decemviri querentes se in ordinem cogi non ante quam *perlati* *legibus*, quarum causa creati essent, deposituros imperium se aiebant. Cf. 3, 37, 4; Diod. 12, 24: οἱτοὶ δὲ τοὺς νόμους οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν συνελεῖσθαι.

⁴ Liv. 3, 37, 1; 3, 38, 10. Cf. also p. 16.

⁵ Cic. *de Re Pub.* 2, 63: Qui duabus tabulis iniquarum legum additis, quibus etiam quae diiunctis populis tribui solent conubia, haec illi ut ne plebi et patribus essent inhumanissima lege sanxerunt. Cf. Dionys. 10, 60, 2154; Gaius, *Dig.* 50, 16, 238. But Diod. 12, 26: τῶν γὰρ καλουμένων δώδεκα πινάκων οἱ μὲν δέκα συνετελέσθησαν, τοὺς δ' ὑπολειπομένους δύο ἀνέγραψαν οἱ ὑπατοί. If we accept this literally Valerius and Horatius are the authors of the refusal of the *conubium*; but to me it seems more probable that the contradiction is only apparent. Diodorus means that the consuls, after soothing the rustic *plebs*, promulgated the laws previously drawn up by the decemvirs.

bium with the patricians would be injurious in general to all persons among the rustic *plebs* with ambitions, but especially to such tribunician families as the Icili and the Duilii, who by frequent terms of office were gradually building up a distinct plebeian nobility. In point of fact, we do find these tribunes leading the movement against the decemvirs.¹ On the other hand, as this law would not affect the humble traders of the city, we may fairly assume that they stood by the decemvirs to the end.

The laws of the last two tables must have contained something obnoxious to the patricians, but on this subject we cannot speak so definitely. Possibly the coinage regulations, if included here, were prejudicial to patrician interests. Certainly the publication of the calendar² was disadvantageous to them. At any rate sufficient friction arose to cause delay in the ratification of the laws. This friction may have been further increased by the determination of the decemvirs to push their laws through by exercise of the full authority of their office. They had two perfectly legitimate means at their disposal. First, they could with perfect legal right abandon their practice of the first year³ and refuse to admit appeals.⁴ With perfect legal right also they could refuse to resign when the year was up, because their laws had not yet been passed.⁵

But all this friction and turmoil would not have sufficed to unite such diverse factions as the patricians and the rustic plebeians. This union was brought about by the war, which clearly demonstrated the military incapacity of the decemvirs, or at least by confirming the belief of the

¹ Liv. 3, 44-54 *passim*.

² Macrob. 1, 13, 21 is proof that a calendar was now published. Livy, 3, 56, 12, speaks of a law of appeal, which may also have been inimical to patrician interests, especially if it admitted appeals to assemblies presided over by plebeian magistrates.

³ Liv. 3, 33, 8-10; Dionys. 10, 57.

⁴ Livy, 3, 32, 6, shows that the magistracy was one without appeal. Livy, 3, 36, 6, proves that the decemvirs did refuse appeals in the second year: *Nam praeterquam quod in populo nihil erat praesidi sublata provocatione, intercessionem quoque consensu sustulerunt*, etc. Cf. Dionys. 10, 59.

⁵ Dionysius, 11, 6, 2173, represents Appius as saying: οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδέλχθημεν οὐδ' εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ χρόνον ὤρισμένον, ἀλλ' ἕως ἂν καταστησώμεθα πᾶσαν τὴν νομοθεσίαν. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II³, p. 702, clearly perceives the extraordinary character of the office. Cf. also Liv. 3, 38, 1.

plebeians in that incapacity, made the *plebs* feel the need of *patrician generalship*. It was the *army*, that is the *plebs rustica*, under the leadership of the *tribunes* and the *patrician generals*, that made the secession first to the Aventine and then to the Sacred Mount.¹

Having completed this brief analytical survey of the main events of the decemvirate we have now to ask what the animating purpose of Appius was. If my reasoning is correct, Mommsen's theory cannot aid us. The truth lies, I think, rather in a combination of the views of Herzog and of Nitzsch. Their two theories, it is important to observe, approach more closely to each other at this particular period than is at first apparent. The point of contact is the important fact that the *trading classes were in the main clients of the patricians*. Herzog is right in believing that Appius wished to remove the permanent opposition of the tribunate; for in the second year, as we have seen, the bitter hostility of the tribunician leaders to the decemvirs is clearly marked. On the other hand, Herzog is entirely wrong in supposing that Claudius wished to do this² by widening the gap between patricians and plebeians, for that was the policy of Valerius, an inveterate enemy of the Claudian policy.³

¹ Cf. Liv. 3, 38, on the terror aroused by the war; on incapacity of the decemvirs, 3, 42; for hostility of the Valerii to the decemvirs, 3, 39, 2, a passage which illustrates the ancient conception of the feud between the Valerii, the traditional friends of the *plebs*, and the Claudii, the traditional tyrants. On the crisis in general cf. 3, 41; 3, 49, 3; 3, 50, 13-16, where these views are applied. For connection of Icilius with secession cf. 3, 51; of Duilius, 3, 52; for joyful reception of Valerius by the plebeians, 3, 53, 2.

² Herzog bases his view largely upon the law regulating the *conubium*; but cf. p. 22.

³ I hold that the object of the Valerio-Horatian laws was to widen the gap between plebeians and patricians by building up beside the patrician state a new parallel plebeian state with its own honors, offices, assemblies. Hence, (1) the restoration of the tribunate with its religious protection of *sacrosanctitas*; (2) the provision of the laws forbidding the creation of any magistracy without appeal, a direct slap at the decemvirate, Liv. 3, 55, 4; (3) the law providing (Liv. 3, 55, 3), 'ut quod tributum plebs iussisset populum teneret,' which established a coördinate assembly, practically plebeian, by the side of the *comitia centuriata*, practically patrician. The legislative decrees of both assemblies were equally binding. (4) The plebeians (cf. Liv. 3, 55, 13) have their own aediles in charge of decrees in the plebeian temple of Ceres.

The main object of Claudius was a patriotic one; he wished to maintain the close relation which had originally existed between the patricians and their plebeian clients, especially the city clients. This relation, however, was to be accurately defined by a code of written law which would protect the plebeians in their just rights, and even encourage their development. The relation was no longer to be left to caprice. In short, Dionysius is right:¹ εἰσῆλθε γάρ τις τὸν Ἀππίον ἐπιθυμία ξένη νέαν ἀρχὴν περιβαλέσθαι καὶ νόμους καταστήσασθαι τῇ πατρίδι ὁμονομίας τε καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ τοῦ μίαν ἅπαντας ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἄρξαι τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις. As a means to this end the tribunate was to be abolished, partly on account of the traditional dislike of the Claudii for that office, but mainly because it was the great obstacle to a single state.

The secondary object of Appius was to improve the condition of the city classes.² Nitzsch is mistaken in making this the main purpose of the reform and in assigning too great influence to these classes. In the first year of the decemvirate Appius was shrewd enough to effect a union of all classes. The small number of supporters left to the decemvirs after the coalition broke up in the second year is the best proof of the comparative insignificance of the urban *plebs* as a political support against the patricians united to the warlike *plebs rustica*. The reforms of Appius Claudius, therefore, failed principally because he could not retain the support of the ambitious rustic plebeians, who, aided by a certain faction among the patricians, best represented by the Valerii and the Horatii, were endeavoring to build up by the side of the patrician state a coördinate plebeian state. This feature of the early struggle between the orders has been too much overlooked. Later the plebeians became wiser and sought, not the creation of new offices to match those of the patricians, but an equal right in the great patrician office of the consulate, which was after all the presidency of the whole state. At the time of the decemvirate, however, the rustic *plebs* were too strongly enamored of another sort of political development to see the wisdom of

¹ 10, 54, 2137.

² Such phrases as ἀνδρες οὐ πᾶν ἐπιφανέας, Dionys. 10, 58, 2148, and *extollere candidatorum levissimum quemque humillimumque*, Liv. 3, 35, 4, remind us strongly of the *forensis turba* associated with the reforms of Appius the censor.

the idea of Appius Claudius, which they adopted later in the struggle over the Sexto-Licinian laws.

Those members of the Claudian family who lived in the period between Appius the decemvir and Appius Claudius Caecus the censor are of no great historical importance, but may be summarily mentioned here, partly to insure genealogical completeness, partly to illustrate certain points in ancient historiography. Appius Claudius Crassus, son of the decemvir, military tribune with consular power in 424 B.C., according to Livy opposed the tribunes.¹ Publius Claudius Crassus, a younger son of the decemvir, was father of Appius Claudius, tribune with consular power in the year 403; both father and son are mentioned in the *Fasti* under *a. u. c.* 351 (403 B.C.), 392 (362 B.C.), and 405 (349 B.C.).² This is all we know of the father. The son first appears in 416 B.C., when, according to Livy,³ he makes a speech suggesting the veto power as a means of breaking up the solidarity of the college of the tribunes. Again in 403 he opposes their policy in regard to the Veian campaign, and like his ancestor is left by his colleague to watch the tribunes.⁴ After the fall of Veii Livy, in a speech of dubious historical value, represents him as urging that the soldiers be paid from the booty.⁵ From this time we hear nothing of him until 368, a period of nearly thirty years, when he is represented by Livy⁶ as speaking against the Licinian laws, mainly on religious grounds. Since, however, it is impossible to suppose that this Appius, who appears as consul as late as the year 349, could have enjoyed a political career of 65 years, Münzer⁷ is probably correct in regarding the speaker of 368 as another Claudius, perhaps the son of the consul of 403. We cannot absolutely disprove the truth of Livy's account, yet we shall find that scorn for religious ceremonial was one of the most marked characteristics of the Claudian

¹ Liv. 4, 35, 4, for office; 4, 36, 5, on general attitude.

² Cf. *CIL*. I, pp. 428, 430, 431.

³ Liv. 4, 48, 5; cf. 2, 44. The striking similarity of these two passages makes one strongly suspect that in both instances Livy is decking out the less known members of the family with a policy formed in strict accordance with his own theories.

⁴ Liv. 5, 2, 13; cf. 3, 36, 5. Again the striking similarity between the two passages suggests purely decorative work.

⁵ Liv. 5, 20, 5.

⁶ Liv. 6, 40, 2.

⁷ Pauly, *Lex.* Vol. II, 2, No. 122, *s. v.* *Claudius*.

race,¹ and, therefore, the passage is not free from suspicion. It was probably this latter Claudius who in 362 as dictator conquered the Hernici,² and who died as consul in the year 349.³ His son, Gaius Claudius Crassus, dictator⁴ in 337, is of interest only as being the father of Appius Claudius Caecus.

Two extant inscriptions describe the descent and *cursus honorum* of Appius Claudius Caecus, the great censor. First, in the *Fasti* we read:⁵

(*a. u. c.* 442) CENS · AP · CLAUDIVS · C · F · AP · N · CAECVS

(*a. u. c.* 447) AP · CLAUDIVS · C · F · AP · N CAECVS

Second, in an *elogium*:⁶

APPIVS · CLAUDIVS

C · F · CAECVS

CENSOR · COS · BIS · DICT · INTERREX III

PR · II AED · CVR II · Q · TR · MIL · III · COM

PLVRA · OPPIDA · DE · SAMNITIBVS · CEPIT

SABINORVM · ET · TVSCORVM · EXERCITVM

FVDIT · PACEM · FIERI · CVM · TYRRHO

REGE · PROHIBVIT · INCENSVRA · VIAM

APPIAM · STRAVIT · ET AQVAM IN

VRBEM ADDVXIT · AEDEM BELLONAE

FECIT

Appius Claudius Caecus,⁷ the censor, was the most remarkable member of the Claudian family. Any fair consideration of his character, even in outline, demands allusion to his influence on literature, his public works, his administrative reforms, and his foreign policy.

¹ Cf. p. 53.

² Cf. Liv. 7, 6, 12 ff.

³ Liv. 7, 24, 11; 7, 25, 10; *CIL*. I, p. 444, on consulship and death; also *CIL*. I, p. 431.

⁴ Liv. 8, 15, 5.

⁵ *CIL*. I, p. 432.

⁶ *CIL*. I, p. 287.

⁷ On the *cognomen* Caecus cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* I, p. 302; Pauly, *Lex. s. v. Claudius*; Siebert, *Ueber Appius Claudius Caecus*; in which places most of the ancient testimony is collected. Cf. also Frontin. *de Ag.* 1, 5, who says that originally his *cognomen* was Crassus, and Pomp. *Dig.* 1, 2, 36, who mentions the name *Centemmanus*, given on account of his building operations. Cf. Plut. *Marcell.* 17, 1.

Appius was one of the first Romans to adopt the practice of writing out his speeches after delivery. The speech in which he prevented the wavering senate from accepting the proposals of Pyrrhus, made through the eloquent Cineas, was one of the most famous examples of early Roman eloquence.¹ Panaetius had read his poetical sayings,² which are referred to by Cicero under the title of *Carmen Pythagoreum*.³ Pomponius mentions a title of a legal work *de Vsurpationibus*.⁴ In philology also Claudius was an innovator, for he recognized the fact of rhotacism and boldly introduced a phonetic spelling. He is said also to have banished the use of *z*, here again bringing writing into conformity with pronunciation.⁵ Such avocations are hardly those of the typical patrician.

To appreciate the serious work of Appius it is necessary to keep the political situation clearly in mind. The Second Samnite War, still raging, had long been draining the country districts of their able-bodied men, who were either employed in active military operations or had migrated to Campania to occupy as military colonists the conquered lands. Such colonists could not serve in the legions, yet more men were needed; for a new coalition was forming against Rome, in which the Etruscans had a leading part. It was under these circumstances that Appius entered upon his famous censorship.⁶

Perhaps the most intelligent account of this censorship is to be found in Diodorus,⁷ whose order in the main it will be convenient to follow. Diodorus remarks at the outset the motive of Claudius, and gives a concise statement of his general policy: *τῷ δῆμῳ γὰρ τὸ κεχαρισμένον ποῶν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῖτο τῆς συγκλήτου*. He then goes on to say:

¹ Liv. *Per.* 13; Cic. *Cat. Mai.* 16; *Brut.* 55; 61; *pro Cael.* 34; *Philip.* 1, 11; Auct. *de Vir. Ill.* 34; Val. Max. 8, 13, 5; Suet. *Tib.* 2; Flor. 1, 13, 20; Justin. 18, 2; Eutrop. 2, 13; Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 203; Plut. *Pyrr.* 8 and 19; App. *Samn.* 10; Zonar. 8, 4; Senec. *Epist.* 19, 5, 13; Tac. *Dial.* 18; Quint. 2, 16, 7. See Saal, *de Appio Claudio Caece*, p. 21, note 1.

² Sall. *ad Caes. de Re Pub.* I, 1, 2; Prisc. 8, 18, ed. Keil.

³ Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 4.

⁴ Dig. 1, 2, 2, 36.

⁵ Cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* p. 303 and 304; Lindsay, *Hist. Lat. Gram.* p. 5.

⁶ On his *cursus honorum*, Siebert, *op. c.* p. 13; Saal, *op. c.* p. 20; Mommsen, *op. c.* p. 301; Pauly, *Lex. s. v. Claudius*.

⁷ 20, 36.

κατέμξε δὲ καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον, οὐ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς καὶ προέχοντας τοῖς ἀξιώμασι προσγράφων μόνον, ὡς ἦν ἔθος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων νιόους ἀνέμξεν. So Livy:¹ 'qui senatum primus libertinorum filiis lectis inquinaverat.' Elsewhere Livy refers to this act as 'infamis atque invidiosa senatus lectio'² and as a 'prava lectio senatus, qua potiores aliquot lectis praeteriti essent.'³ Finally, Suetonius says:⁴ 'Claudius etiam Appium Caecum, generis sui proauctorem, libertinos in senatum allegisse docuit, ignarus temporibus Appi et deinceps aliquamdiu libertinos dictos non ipsos qui manu emitterentur, sed ingenuos ex his procreatos.'

The simple explanation of this last passage seems to be that at the time of Appius Claudius Caecus a freed slave would become a *libertus* while the son of this *libertus* would be called *libertinus*. That is, the sons of *libertini* were the grandsons of the slaves originally manumitted. Against this interpretation, however, Mommsen⁵ alleges (1) that this is the only passage in which such a distinction between *libertus* and *libertinus* is implied, and that elsewhere *libertini* denotes the class of freedmen in relation to public life, *liberti*, the individual freedmen in relation to their patrons. (2) Mommsen argues that since *libertus* is everywhere used with the patron's name added or understood in the genitive case, it could not designate freed slaves as a class. (3) He suggests that at the time of Appius Claudius Caecus *libertinus* possibly had two uses: it denoted (a) the manumitted slave, (b) the son of the manumitted slave. This interpretation of Mommsen's is possible, but by no means conclusive; for, in the first place, Mommsen has no right to quote against Suetonius passages referring to this period where such phrases as *filiis libertinorum* or the Greek equivalent occur, for in these passages we may by the hypothesis of Suetonius explain *libertinus* as meaning the son of the manumitted slave. Nor need we be surprised that no other passage confirms Suetonius's view, for that author expressly states that the distinction was not known even to the emperor Claudius, a most careful student of antiquity. In the third place, the fact that *libertus* is used in later historians to define the relation of a freedman to his

¹ 9, 46, 11.

² 9, 29, 7.

³ 9, 30, 1.

⁴ Suet. *Claud.* 24.

⁵ *Staatsrecht*, III³, I, p. 422, notes 2 and 3.

patron is inconclusive for the time of Appius Claudius Caecus, for at that early period the taint of slavery might cause the *whole class of manumitted slaves, excluded from public life*, to be named merely as clients to their former masters, i. e. *liberti*. The sons of such men, who might have a far greater degree of political freedom, would perhaps, as Suetonius says, be called *libertini*. In fact we know that the taint of slavery was supposed to last for three generations, for the knights¹ must be able to trace their free descent at least so far back.

In view of the evidence brought forward by Mommsen it would perhaps be rash to assert positively that Appius introduced into the senate only the grandsons of freedmen. Still, nothing that he adduces positively disproves the simple interpretation of Suetonius. If then we should provisionally accept this literal interpretation, it is obvious that the social degradation inflicted on the senate was not so great after all. In any case these men were probably recruited from the *scribae*, *accensi*, and freedmen of similar standing. Doubtless Appius as a practical politician selected only the most influential among them, but this, as we shall see, made no difference to the hide-bound patricians or the assertive new nobility.

It is probable that in this *senatus lectio* Appius, in accordance with the letter, if not the spirit, of the Ovinian law, selected the best men from every class. Of this law Festus² says: '(lege Ovinia) sanctum est ut censores ex omni ordine optimum quemque curiati [iurati?] in senatum legerent.' Livy indeed tells us that some of the worthiest men were passed by:³ Yet Diodorus⁴ declares that Appius did not deprive a single knight of his horse, nor erase the name of a single unworthy member from the senate lists. From all of this testimony it is evident that Appius was endeavoring to build up a party devoted to his interests. And we may therefore ask what his purpose was.

Lange⁵ holds substantially that Appius wished to put in the place of the hated new nobility a patrician oligarchy. He tried, therefore, to sow discord between the wings of the coalition by exalting the influence

¹ Plin. *N. H.* 33, 32.

² p. 246 (M). Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II³, 1, 418, note 3, believes the law was passed just before the censorship. Cf. also Zonar. 7, 19, C.

³ 9, 30, 2.

⁴ *l. c.*

⁵ *Römische Alterthümer*, II³, p. 77.

of the patricians and humiliating the new plebeian nobility by new admissions to the senate. When, however, the patricians remained faithful to their alliance, he turned upon them with unreasoning demagogic rage and became the champion of the *humiles* and *libertini*. Herzog's view¹ is not dissimilar. He looks upon this as an ironical measure or an actual degradation of the senate, which Appius wished to debase while he increased the powers of the magistrates at its expense. Surely, however, Appius took a most roundabout way to show the aristocratic pride attributed to him by these modern historians. His patrician contemporaries at least viewed the matter differently, judging by their acts of the following year. Thus Livy² says: 'Itaque consules, qui eum annum secuti sunt, C. Iunius Bubulcus tertium et Q. Aemilius Barbula iterum, initio anni questi apud populum, *deformatum ordinem* prava lectione senatus, qua potiores aliquot lectis praeteriti essent, negaverunt eam lectionem se, quae sine recti pravique discrimine ad gratiam ac libidinose facta esset, observaturos, et senatum extemplo citaverunt eo ordine qui ante censores App. Claudium et C. Plautum fuerat.' And Diodorus:³ εἰθ' οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ διὰ τὸν φθόνον καὶ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις χαρίζεσθαι συνήγον τὴν σύγκλητον οὐ τὴν ὑπὸ τούτου καταλεγείσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν προγεγενημένων τιμητῶν καταγραφείσαν.

With such facts the hypothesis of Nitzsch squares nicely. He holds that Appius resolved to break down the opposition of the majority of the senate⁴ to his policy of building great public works by reconstructing the membership. This he did by admitting the most distinguished members of the *plebs urbana*, the class especially benefited by urban improvements. His method resembles in some degree therefore the creation of new peers, by which means an English premier may overcome the opposition of the House of Lords. But before approving this view we should consider the nature of the public works and their value to an urban community.

¹ *Römische Staatsverfassung*, I, p. 272.

² 9, 30; cf. 9, 46, 11.

³ *l. c.*

⁴ Nitzsch, *l. c.* p. 103. This view is confirmed by Diodorus, 20, 36: καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ καλούμενον Ἰάπων ὕδωρ ἀπὸ σταδίων ὀδοήκοντα κατήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ πολλὰ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων εἰς ταύτην τὴν κατασκευὴν ἀνήλωσεν ἀνευ δόγματος τῆς συγκλήτου.

The value of the great constructions of Appius, the aqueduct and the Appian road to Capua, is attested by several ancient writers. Thus Livy:¹ 'Et censura clara eo anno Appi Claudii et C. Plautii fuit; memoriae tamen felicioris ad posteros nomen Appi quod viam munivit et aquam in urbem duxit eaque unus perfecit.' Diodorus² speaks in some detail of the Appian way, and Frontinus³ gives an excellent description of the Appian aqueduct. In the construction of these great public works Appius was returning to the policy of the regal period, but the persons especially benefited were the trading classes. The need of a copious water supply for the future urban growth of Rome is obvious. The construction of the Appian way to Capua had a combined military and commercial importance; the road was built in the year following a serious revolt, and greater accessibility would minimize the dangers of such revolts in the future; on the other hand, the improved means of communication with the greatest commercial city of southern Italy would secure immense advantages to the Roman merchants. Moreover, the necessity of employing large numbers of artisans on these works must have been an important consideration in their favor, both in the eyes of Appius and of the non-agricultural population.⁴

The admission of the commercial classes to the tribes was the most revolutionary of the reforms of Claudius. Of it Diodorus says:⁵ ἔδωκε δὲ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὅποι προαίρουντο τιμῆσθαι. And Livy:⁶ 'nec in curia adeptus est quas petierat opes, urbanis humilibus per omnis tribus divisus forum et campum corrumpit.' Plutarch:⁷ τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπελευθέρους ὅψε καὶ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἐξουσίαν ψήφου δημαγωγῶν ἔδωκεν Ἀππίος. Let us now consider briefly the interpretation of these passages given by modern scholars.

Upon the details of the reform Lange⁸ believes that land-holding as a prerequisite to the franchise was disregarded in the *tribal registers*, and the *humiles* were allowed to vote in whatever tribe they pleased. In

¹ 9, 29, 6.

² *l. c.*

³ Frontin. *de Aq.* 1, 5. On fame of these works, Cic. *pro Cael.* 34; Liv. 9, 29, 6; Auct. *de Vir. Ill.* 34; Eutrop. 2, 9, 3; Fest. p. 24; Pomp. *Dig.* 1, 2, 36; Hieron. and Cass. *Chron. ad ann.* 442.

⁴ Siebert, pp. 59-63.

⁵ *l. c.*

⁶ 9, 46, 11.

⁷ *Popl.* 7.

⁸ *Römische Alterthümer*, II³, especially pp. 79, 80, 82.

the *comitia centuriata*, however, only the *landholding humiles*, previously thrust among the lowest class, were now distributed among all classes in strict accordance with their landed-property holdings. This change did not, however, deprive the nobility of their old preponderance. Herzog¹ holds in general that Appius cared little about the assemblies and senate; hence that their enlargement might easily be considered a sort of degradation, perhaps half-ironical. By this means the influence of the executive magistrates would of course be increased. He recognizes that Appius wished to bring into the military service all Roman citizens, and that such service implied the right to vote. In regard to the *comitia centuriata* Herzog ventures only to say that if movable property was put on an equality with land for civic rating, Appius would thus have equalized trade and agriculture. Siebert, in his monograph on Appius Claudius,² seems to believe that Appius might either receive only *humiles* with land into the rustic tribes or that he might distribute the whole city proletariat among all the tribes by removing the principle of landed property. This latter alternative, however, was not adopted because, as an aristocrat, Appius by a union of the old patricians and the *humiles* wished to crush the new plebeian nobility. In general Siebert holds that the readjustment in the tribes affected only the land-holding freedmen, and that non-landholding citizens benefited not at all. Finally, Nitzsch³ believes that the distribution of the proletarians among the tribes implies that the city people might now have permission to purchase real estate, but that by an extension of the census to cover moveable property those who neither held real estate nor had bought it might enter the higher census classes. This measure was at once just and revolutionary; just, because the whole people had supported the war, revolutionary, because it changed the character of the Roman citizen body and gave the city *plebs* control of the *comitia*, which were held at Rome.

¹ *op. c.* I, pp. 269-271.

² Cf. especially pp. 48-49. Some minor details in this treatise seem open to criticism. Thus the distinction between *forensis turba* and *forensis factio*, words clearly used interchangeably by Livy, and that between *humiles* and *humillimi*, are quite worthless. On p. 50 no argument can be based on the corrupt reading of the passage of Diodorus which Siebert follows.

³ p. 104 ff.

What are we to say in the face of these conflicting views? In the first place, it is obvious that Appius was introducing a military measure, designed to compel all citizens to bear the burdens of the Samnite war. Now, the citizens hitherto exempt from such service were in the main the *libertini*, proletarians, *opifices*, *sellularii*, who belong in general to the artisan and shopkeeping class, and are described with substantial correctness by the term *humiles*.¹ In the second place, if these people gained the right to bear arms, it was manifestly unfair to withhold from them the right to vote, especially to decide upon questions of peace and war. Now the decision of peace or war rested with the *comitia centuriata*; hence they ought to obtain a vote, and a vote that would count for something, in that body. Livy clearly implies that they did obtain a privilege of that sort by the phrase *campum corruptit*, from which we may infer that the standing of the *humiles* in the *comitia centuriata* was improved. Lange holds that in the tribes the position of all *humiles* was improved, but in the *comitia centuriata* only the *humiles* with landed property were advanced. This is not a matter susceptible of absolute proof, but, in the first place, there is no motive implied in the ancient authorities which would lead Appius thus to distinguish between the *comitia centuriata* and the *comitia tributa*. In the second place, it seems very doubtful whether the 'campus' would be corrupted if only men with landed property were raised to the higher classes. Hence *a fortiori* Siebert's view that landed property alone was regarded in both tribes and centuries seems untenable, for it is doubtful if the army would have been increased by such a measure. My general conclusion, therefore, is that it is probable that in making up the lists for the tribes and centuries movable property was reckoned along with landed property; and that thus a large number of *humiles* were distributed among all the tribes and gained an improved condition in the *comitia centuriata*.² This conclusion gains additional prob-

¹ All of these persons were citizens, for even freedmen were enrolled in the four city tribes by Servius Tullius and enjoyed a sort of modified citizenship. Cf. Dionys. 4, 22; Liv. I, 43, 8.

² It will be noticed that I have assumed that membership in the tribes and centuries was based originally on landed property. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III³, I, p. 247, and Lange, I³, p. 491, hold this view. Moreover, on *a priori* grounds we should naturally expect this to be the case with an agricultural people like the early

ability from the fact that though the *senatus lectio* of Claudius was abrogated almost immediately, his readjustment of the tribes was not changed until the close of the war, when Quintus Fabius Maximus came into power. But before considering these Fabian reforms a word should be said of certain other military reforms of the period, apparently inspired directly by the party of the censor, and of his interesting interference in religious affairs.

In speaking of the year 311 Livy describes two war measures.¹ The first provided 'ut tribuni militum seni deni in quattuor legiones a populo crearentur, quae antea, perquam paucis suffragio populi relictis locis, dictatorum et consulum ferme fuerant beneficia;' the second, 'ut duumviros navales classis ornandae reficiendaeque causa idem populus iuberet.' The first measure was distinctly in favor of the rural plebs and the army, for it increased the number of military tribunes whom the people might elect from six to sixteen. It may well be doubted if the city classes were especially benefited. On the other hand, the second measure, by its policy of trade and naval expansion, would benefit the city classes almost exclusively. Indeed, if confidence is to be placed in the testimony of Polybius,² these commercial classes served mainly on the fleet. In this last fact is to be found a partial explanation for the absence of any great growth of the census lists as a result of these reforms; for those who served on the fleet were probably assessed outside the ordinary lists. It is probable also that many of the new citizens merely made good the gap in the census roll caused by the foundation of new Latin colonies.

The innovations of Appius in religion were quite in keeping with the

Romans, whose general attitude towards trade is correctly characterized by Dionys. 9, 25. Then the information of Livy, 1, 46, in regard to Servius Tullius's system of land distributions is naturally associated with the census organization. The term *assidui* there employed is certainly connected with land-holding, as shown by Fest. p. 9 (M). (The derivation of Cic. *de Re Pub.* 2, 40, is wild.) This fact also lies at the basis of the story of Attus Clausus and his clients, cf. p. 4. Finally, even at a later period, when without doubt other property besides land was reckoned in the census, we have many passages that seem to hark back to the times when membership in the tribe and land-holding within its boundaries were closely connected, not to say synonymous; e. g. Cat. *Orig.* p. 30, ed. Jord.; Cic. *pro Flacc.* 79; Fest. p. 58 (M); Pliny, *N. H.* 18, 9; Liv. 45, 15, 1.

¹ 9, 30, 3.

² Polyb. 6, 19, 3.

general attitude of his house. The yearly carousal of the *hibicines* in the temple of Jupiter derived no sanctity in his eyes from its supposed religious character. He accordingly forbade it. But the religious formalism of the Romans was too strong for him, and he was obliged to yield.¹ The transfer of the cult of Hercules from the patrician Potitii and Pinaril rests on a somewhat different basis. It was a protest against religious formalism, an effort, probably animated by no irreverent feelings, to popularize among the city classes what had hitherto been the sacred monopoly of two exclusive families.² The great vogue which this cult, with its *Ara Maxima* in the *Forum Boarium*, obtained later suggests that there was something in the character of Hercules which especially appealed to the Roman masses. Here, too, should be mentioned the temple which Appius is said to have vowed to Bellona in the year 296, when engaged in a fierce battle with the Etruscans.³

The ordinary term of eighteen months was all too short for the completion of these varied and magnificent reforms. Appius must have been especially concerned for his great public works. If three centuries and a half later the improvements of the emperor Claudius at the harbor of Ostia were regarded as impracticable, Appius the censor may well have feared the abandonment of his own works, which could hardly have been more than begun in his term.⁴ This must have been the main motive in his determination to retain his censorship to the very end of the five year period originally allotted to that office. Diodorus⁵ indicates the cause of his refusal to resign: καὶ πολλὰ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων εἰς ταύτην τὴν κατασκευὴν ἀνήλωσεν ἄνευ δόγματος τῆς συγκλήτου . . . κατανήλωσεν ἀπάσας τὰς δημοσίας προσόδους.

Of the attempt of the tribune Publius Sempronius⁶ to compel Appius, since the abdication of his colleague Plautius the sole holder of the

¹ Liv. 9, 30, 5; Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 657; Val. Max. 2, 5, 4; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 55; Corsorin. *de Die Nat.* 12, 2; Dio Cass. 49, 15, 8.

² Liv. 9, 29, 9. Cf. also Liv. 1, 7; Val. Max. 1, 1, 17; Auct. *de Vir. Ill.* 34; Fest. 217 and 237 (M); Macrobian. *Sat.* 3, 6-14; Serv. *ad Aen.* 8, 179 and 269; Lactant. 2, 8; Dionys. 1, 40; Schwegler, *Gesch.* I, p. 353 ff.

³ Liv. 10, 19, 17; Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 203.

⁴ Frontinus, *de Ag.* 1, 5, expressly says: 'qui multis tergiversationibus extraxisse censuram traditur donec et viam et huius aquae ductum consummaret.'

⁵ Diod. *l. c.*; cf. Liv. 9, 29.

⁶ Liv. 9, 33 ff.

censorship, to resign, little need be said. The tribune rested his case upon the Aemilian law,¹ which had limited the censorship to eighteen months. Appius had three technical points in his favor. First, the well-known principle that no Roman magistrate could constitutionally be forced out of office. Second, the fact that from some points of view the censorship had probably never been legally limited to eighteen months; all contracts were for five years, and on several occasions magistrates had with the approval of the senate served out their full term in order to superintend public works.² Third, Appius, in his speeches in Livy, is apparently basing a constitutional argument on the fact that a man who is *censor creatus optimo iure* cannot have his maximum term of five years abridged to eighteen months. It seems to me that, technically speaking, Appius had constitutional arguments on his side, but it is clear that he was proceeding in violation of the spirit of the constitution in retaining his office without the approval of the senate.

Two facts seem to show that he had influential support among the people at large. In the first place, three of the tribunes interposed their veto to Sempronius's proposal. Thus Livy says:³ 'Adprobantibus sex tribunis actionem collegae, tres appellanti Appio auxilio fuerunt, summaque invidia omnium ordinum solus censuram gessit.' In the second place, he secured his own election to the consulate for the year 307.⁴

The consulship of Appius⁵ was entirely devoid of political importance. A vigorous war was waged against the Sallentini, but Appius remained in

¹ On the Aemilian law cf. Liv. 4, 24, 3 ff.; Zonar. 7, 19; also Lange, I³, p. 665; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II³, p. 349 and 351, with notes.

² So in Frontin. *de Ag.* 1, 7, we find that Marcius 'holds over.' A similar request is made by the censors of 169; cf. Liv. 45, 15, 9. On the length of term cf. Cic. *de Leg.* 3, 3, 7: *bini sunt, magistratum quinquennium habento*; and Zonar. 7, 19.

³ 9, 34, 26.

⁴ The resignation of Plautius, the colleague of Appius, and, according to Frontin. 1, 5, the discoverer of the springs, proves the dominating influence of Appius. Plautius might have used his veto. Cf. Diod. *l. c.*; Siebert, p. 17; Herzog, *op. c.* p. 273.

⁵ The story of Liv. 9, 42, 3, may be rejected; it is incredible that Appius, who had remained in office to the end of his term, should then resign under pressure.

the city, either because he was aware of his own incapacity, or because the patrician senate refused to trust him with a command.¹

Appius succeeded in bringing about the election of the famous Cn. Flavius, a freedman's son, to the curule aedileship for the year 305. This Flavius, a clerk to Appius and the first freedman's son to hold office in Rome, by his intelligence and energy aided the reform movement of his patron. Of the publication of the *legis actiones* Livy says:² 'Civile ius repositum in penetralibus pontificum evulgavit fastosque circa forum in albo proposuit, ut quando lege agi posset sciretur.' The effect of such a publication is obvious;³ it freed the ordinary citizen from the legal monopoly of the *pontifices*, just as the change in the cult of Hercules had in a way freed him from the religious monopoly of the Potitii and Pinarii. Appius might have attempted such a reform in person, but he wisely preferred to avail himself of the services of a notary with wide technical and legal experience.

After such a series of revolutionary reforms a reaction was bound to occur sooner or later. Still, the war tended to stifle successful opposition, if not criticism. The censors of the year 307, C. Junius Bubulcus and M. Valerius Maximus, popular men, well suited to lead such a reaction, remained passive,⁴ probably because they needed the services of the *plebs urbana* in the field. When, however, in the year 304 the war was brought to a close, Q. Fabius Rullianus, the most eminent leader of the patricians, and Decius Mus, a famous statesman of the rustic *plebs*, were made censors; this notwithstanding the fact that the censorial elections were not regularly held until 302.

¹ On his consulship cf. Liv. 9, 42.

² 9, 46, 5; for his energy of character cf. his throwing away of the scribe's tablet, 9, 46, 2; also 9, 46, 9, where he makes the rude nobles respect his office.

³ On the relations of Appius and Flavius in general and the work of Flavius cf. Plin. *N. H.* 33, 17; Cic. *ad Att.* 6, 1, 8 and 18; *pro Mur.* 25; Val. Max. 2, 5, 2; 9, 3, 3; Pomp. *Dig.* 1, 2, 2, 7; Macrob. 1, 15, 9. Since the calendar was among the laws of the Twelve Tables, we see that Appius was only continuing the policy of his ancestor, the decemvir. Perhaps, we may attribute to Flavius a literary form of the calendar; cf. Marq. *Sacrales.* p. 287. Cf. also Lange, I³, p. 353, 369; II³, p. 88; Herzog, *op. c.* p. 275; on the publication, Mommsen, *Gesch.* I³, p. 471.

⁴ They even imitated the building operations of Appius by erecting a temple to *Salus* and constructing roads. Liv. 9, 43, 26; Lange, II³, 90.

Livy¹ gives the following account of their work: 'Ex eo tempore in duas partes discessit civitas; aliud integer populus, fautor et cultor bonorum, aliud forensis factio tendebat, donec Q. Fabius et P. Decius censores facti, et Fabius, simul concordiae causa, simul ne humillimorum in manu comitia essent, omnem forensem turbam excretam in quattuor tribus coniecit urbanasque eas appellavit.' This reform meets with the approval of the ancient authorities. It is probably true that the arrangement of Appius had given too much weight to the city classes; but if by the arrangement of Fabius these men were not only crowded into four tribes, but forced to vote last, the reaction went too far in the other direction. It must have had an effect similar to the modern device known as the 'gerrymander' in the United States.²

So much for the internal policy of Appius. His external policy was Pan-Italian. Rome was to be the head of a united Italy. To maintain that position she must be supplied with dignified public works, hence the Claudian aqueduct, and be able to keep in close communication with important trade and military centres, hence the road to Capua. Above all, the Romans must be capable of extending their commercial relations and offering suitable protection to a united Italy, an aim which was secured both by the system of road building and the development of the *socii navales*. The famous speech of Appius, warning Pyrrhus out of Italy, was but the dramatic summing up of the results already attained by practical statesmanship. The notice of Suetonius,³ 'Claudius Drusus, statua sibi diademata ad Appi Forum posita, Italiam per clientelas occupare temptavit,' probably refers, according to

¹ 9, 46; cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 13, where Plutarch has possibly confused the senate with the assemblies.

² I think that this is all we can say on the basis of the ancient authorities. We do not have enough evidence to decide whether all the *humiles* were thrust back into the city tribes or only the non-land holding *humiles* were thus degraded. Hence the discussions of Lange, II³, 90 ff., of Siebert, p. 79 ff., and of Herzog, p. 276 ff., are entirely speculative. If it is necessary for us also to speculate, we may perhaps guess that Fabius could hardly have taken the *comitia out of the hands of the humiles* without thrusting all of the men whose condition Appius had improved, both land holders and non-land holders, back into the city tribes. Hence it seems to me rather more probable that this was a complete return to the conditions existing before the censorship of Appius than a compromise measure.

³ Suet. *Tib.* 2.

all modern historians, to Appius Claudius Caecus. In this case we have rather another instance of the efforts of the family to extend their influence beyond the city proper than any attempt to gain regal power.¹

After viewing the net results of the work of Appius, — the temporary strengthening of the army,² the creation of a naval policy, the inception of two magnificent public works, in external politics; the breaking down of religious and legal monopolies and the improvement of the civil status of merchants and artisans, in internal politics, — one feels that the hypothesis of Nitzsch affords the most rational explanation of the petty intrigues and broad results of the struggle.

The last years of Appius, though affording no such evidence of vast political activity, present some minor problem which seem to imply at first sight that the later attitude of Appius was reactionary. Thus in 300 his opposition to the Ogulnian law,³ which admitted plebeians to the sacred colleges, while in keeping with the general hostility of the family to all tribunician movements, is strangely at variance with his policy in religious affairs and in the reforms of Flavius. Of course it is in flat contradiction to the hypothesis of Mommsen, and even to apply Nitzsch's theory, and say that as the city *plebs* would not benefit at all, Appius, their champion, opposed the law, seems not altogether satisfactory.

Two other apparent inconsistencies admit of more satisfactory explanation. In the year 299, when Appius was an *interrex*, he opposed, according to Cicero,⁴ the election of a plebeian consul. On the other hand, if we follow Livy,⁵ we have no difficulty, for Livy's annalistic source mentioned no such act. Even in Cicero's more detailed account we need not assume that Appius wished altogether to deprive the plebeians of a consul. For since Manius Curius Dentatus, the representative of the rustic plebeians, 'cum de plebe consulem non accipiebat (*sc.* Appius), patres ante auctores fieri coegerit,' it will be

¹ This same tendency is illustrated by the marriage of one of the daughters of the Claudian house to one of the leading magistrates of Capua; cf. p. 43.

² Perhaps this strengthening of the army may be called more than temporary, for in subsequent crises we again find freedmen and slaves serving in army or navy; cf. Liv. 10, 21, 3; 22, 11, 8; 40, 18, 7; 42, 27, 3; 42, 31, 7; 43, 12, 9; Aul. Gell. 16, 10, 12 ff.

³ Liv. 10, 7, 1.

⁴ Cic. *Brut.* 14, 55.

⁵ Liv. 10, 11, 10.

quite as natural to explain Cicero's words as meaning that Appius wished to force the election of a plebeian more closely identified with his own views.

In the year 297, when Claudius was a second time candidate for the consulship, Livy¹ asserts that he put forth great efforts to persuade Fabius, the presiding officer, to return himself as consul, and thereby completely exclude the plebeians from the chief magistracy. Fabius, however, with noble self-abnegation refused to do this, and Lucius Volumnius again became the colleague of Claudius. Here, it seems to me, we are confronted with a contradiction in Livy's sources. We are expressly told that in the year 307² Appius vigorously opposed the prorogation of the command of Fabius. The sweeping changes Fabius made in the reforms of Appius in the tribes have already been noticed. In the third place, we find that at a later date Fabius practically had Appius deposed from his military command in Etruria,³ an incident inconsistent with friendship. It seems likely, therefore, that this passage had its origin in some biased and self-laudatory annals of the Fabian house, which contrasted the dignified restraint of the Fabii with the political greed of other patricians⁴, who, like Appius the decemvir, had not scrupled to receive votes for themselves.

The second consulship of Appius Claudius was full of active campaigning, first in Samnium,⁴ then in Etruria,⁵ where he displayed the usual Claudian incapacity in military affairs, and won final success only with the appearance of his colleague, Volumnius, and by vowing a temple to the goddess Bellona.⁶ In the year 296 Appius became praetor and remained with his army until he was finally dismissed, largely through the influence of Fabius.⁷ The time of his dictatorship, mentioned in the elogium, is placed by Mommsen between 289 and 285.⁸ His speech against Pyrrhus has already been considered.

¹ Liv. 10, 15, 7.

² Liv. 9, 42, 2.

³ Cf. Liv. 10, 22, 7-25, 9, for wars of Appius and his dismissal.

⁴ Liv. 10, 17, and the *elogium*.

⁵ Liv. 10, 18 and 19. On these wars cf. Pauly, *Lex.* p. 2681 ff., no. 9.

⁶ Cf. p. 35.

⁷ Liv. 10, 22, 7-9; 24, 18; 25, 4-10. After the battle of Sentinum Appius (cf. Liv. 10, 31, 3-8) went to Campania.

⁸ *CIL.* I, p. 287.

Appius Claudius Caudex, consul in the year 264 B.C., is set down in the *Fasti* as the brother of the censor.¹ Living at the beginning of a period of rapid imperial expansion, he saw clearly the advantage of the possession of Sicily, both for commerce and for imperial aggrandizement, and was not afraid to act boldly. He was perhaps the best general of the family, as is shown by the successful dash of his operations about Messana.² Like his brother (?), he too saw the necessity of naval development; in fact, he was regarded by the Romans as their first naval leader. Thus Suetonius says of him:³ 'Claudius Caudex primus freto classe traiecto Poenos Sicilia expulit;' and Seneca:⁴ 'quis Romanis primus persuaserit navem conscendere? Claudius is fuit, Caudex . . . appellatus.'

Appius Claudius Rufus, a son of the censor, was consul in 268, when, according to the *Fasti Triumphales*,⁵ he won a triumph over the Picentes. Velleius⁶ tells us that colonies were founded at Ariminum and Beneventum and the right of voting was given to the Sabines during his term. He was the first member of the family to be associated in office with a member of the Sempronian gens.

His brother,⁷ Publius Claudius, consul in 249, was a much more picturesque figure. In the *Fasti Capitolini* under 505 *a. u. c.* we read:

P. CLAVDIVS · AP · F · C · N · PVLCHER · L · IVNIVS · C · F · L · N · PVLLVS
M · CLAVDIVS · C · F · GLICIA · QVI · SCRĪBA · FVERAT · DICTATOR
COACT · ABDIC
SINE · MAG · EQ · IN · EIVS · LOCVM · FACTVS · EST⁸

¹ *CIL.* I, p. 434; Vell. Pat. 1, 12; Val. Max. 2, 4, 7. This relationship is certainly incorrect. Appius Claudius Caecus holds his first great office in 312, but his brother does not become consul until 264, a difference of 48 years. Even Claudius Rufus, the nephew, consul in 268, precedes his uncle Caudex by four years. What the real relationship was we can only guess.

² For the ancient testimony on these campaigns cf. Pauly, *Lex.* p. 2693 ff., no. 102.

³ Suet. *Tib.* 2.

⁴ Sen. *de Brev. Vit.* 13, 4.

⁵ *CIL.* I, p. 457.

⁶ Vell. Pat. 1, 14, 7; in general on his career cf. Eutrop. 2, 16; Liv. *Per.* 15; Flor. 1, 14.

⁷ Another, brother Tiberius Claudius Nero, was the founder of the famous family of the Claudii Neronēs.

⁸ *CIL.* I, p. 434. Cf. *CIL.* X, 6838, where on a very old *miliarium* he is named as curule aedile.

The details of his campaign against Drepana are well described by Polybius.¹ His disastrous defeat was always looked upon as a sign of divine vengeance for the drowning of the sacred chickens.² The appointment of his freedman Glicia to the dictatorship, alluded to in the *Fasti*, was made on his return to Rome; it was in fact his ironical answer to the censure of the senate and its command that he appoint a dictator. Of course, the nomination was annulled. Still, we cannot help seeing here another illustration of the closeness of the bond that united the Claudian patron to his client. It is surely obvious that such a relation as existed between Claudius and Glicia or between the censor and Flavius was entirely different from the ordinary relation of patricians to their dependents. The trial on a charge of *perduellio* mentioned by the *Scholia Bobbiensia*³ is merely important as a sign that this Claudius was not the first nor yet the last member of the family against whom, as the result of tactless pertinacity, such a charge was preferred.⁴

A third son of the censor, Gaius Claudius Centho, is nothing but a name to us. We know merely his *cursus honorum*:⁵ consul 240, censor 225, interrex 217, dictator 213.

Appius Claudius Pulcher, consul in the year 212,⁶ the son of Publius, was a soldier pure and simple, whose life was marked by no events of political importance. After the battle of Cannae he went to Sicily,⁷ where he rendered efficient service to Marcellus during the siege of Syracuse.⁸ As consul in 212 he, with his colleague Fulvius, engaged in

¹ Polyb. 1, 49, 3-51, 12. Cf. Diod. 24, 1, 5; Zonar. 8, 15; Liv. *Per.* 19; Flor. 1, 18, l. 29; Eutrop. 2, 26, 1; Oros. 4, 10, 3; Front. *Strat.* 2, 13, 9; Schol. Bob. p. 337.

² Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* 7; *de Div.* 1, 29; 2, 71; Liv. *Per.* 19; 22, 42, 9; Flor. 1, 18, 29; Eutrop. 2, 26, 1; Val. Max. 1, 4, 3; 8, 1, *abs.* 4; Suet. *Tib.* 2; Dio, *frag.* 43, 32.

³ Schol. Bobb. *pro Cael.* p. 337; cf. Polyb. 1, 52, 2; Val. Max. 8, 1, *abs.* 4; Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* 2, 7; 2, 71.

⁴ E. g. Appius the decemvir, cf. Liv. 3, 56 ff.; C. Claudius, censor 169, cf. p. 49.

⁵ On consulship cf. *CIL.* I, p. 435; Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 3; *Cat. Mai.* 50; *Brut.* 72; Gell. 17, 21, 42; interrex, cf. Liv. 22, 34, 1; dictator, 25, 2, 3.

⁶ Previously aedile, cf. Liv. 22, 53, 2.

⁷ Liv. 23, 24, 4; 23, 30, 18.

⁸ For his campaign against Bomilcar, Liv. 23, 41, 10-12; negotiations with

the siege of Capua. Both consuls showed excellent generalship in not being drawn away from the siege by Hannibal's feint on Rome.¹

That some connection existed between the Claudii and the town of Capua may be inferred from the fact that Claudia, the daughter of Appius Claudius, was married to one Pacuvius Calavius, who in 216² was the highest magistrate at Capua. Since she already had an adult son, it is difficult to believe that she was the daughter of the consul of 212; and yet his speech³ in behalf of the Capuans is best explained on the theory of some such relationship. At any rate, these facts, taken in connection with the passage of Suetonius on the Italian policy of the censor, prove that the family did not affect the typical patrician exclusiveness.

Appius Claudius Pulcher was son of the consul of 212, as we see from the *Fasti*.⁴ He saw service under Flamininus in Greece, where he acted as a sort of staff officer to the commander and aided in diplomatic negotiations with Philip.⁵ In the year 194 he had charge of two detachments, first in Boeotia, then in Thessaly and Epirus.⁶ Livy and Appian⁷ both mention his clever strategy near Larissa. He also fought under Glabrio against the Aetolians.⁸ Elected to the consulship in the year 186, with Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus as colleague, he waged a successful war against the Ligurians.⁹ His efforts to gain the consulship for the next year for his brother afford an excellent example of the close tie binding the members of the patrician house together. The attempt was characterized by a reckless disregard for political conventionalities which naturally shocked the scrupulous Romans.¹⁰ It is interesting to find, however, that in Livy's account Claudius is backed by a party among the tribunes. That Claudius was a diplomat of

Hieronimus, Liv. 24, 6 and 7; at siege of Syracuse, Liv. 24, 27; 24, 29; 24, 30; 24, 33; 24, 36; 24, 39; Polyb. 8, 3, 7; 5, 1; 6, 9; Plut. *Marcell.* 14; Zonar. 9, 4.

¹ Liv. 25, 2; 25, 3; 25, 41; 26, 1; 26, 5; 26, 6; 26, 8; 26, 15; 26, 16; App. *Hann.* 37, 40, 43; Polyb. 9, 7, 7; Zonar. 9, 6.

² Liv. 23, 2, 6.

³ Liv. 26, 15, 2. Cf. Liv. 26, 33, 13, for other evidence of a connection between the Claudii and Capua.

⁴ *CIL.* I, p. 436.

⁵ Liv. 32, 35 and 36.

⁶ Liv. 34, 50.

⁷ Liv. 36, 10, 10 ff.; App. *Syr.* 16.

⁸ Liv. 36, 22, 8; 36, 30.

⁹ Liv. 39, 32, 4.

¹⁰ Liv. 39, 32, 5 ff.

approved worth is implied by the two embassies which he undertook; the first to Macedonia and Greece in 184;¹ the second to the Aetolians in 174.²

The circumstances under which Publius Claudius Pulcher, the brother of Appius, gained the consulship have just been related. Previous to that time he had been curule aedile in 189³ and praetor in 188.⁴ We know little of his politics, but two inscriptions attest his interest in Italian affairs. The first apparently makes him patron of Nola:⁵

P. CLAVDIO · PVLCHRO

COS

PATRONO

The second informs us he was triumvir of the colony of Gravisca in the year 181,⁶ before which time he had apparently enrolled new colonists at Cales.

p. claudius ap. f. p. n. pulcher

colonos · ADSCRIPSIT · CALES · COS · CVM

l. porcio IIIvir · COLONIAM DEDVXIT GRAVISCAM

These facts are not without interest when we remember the connection of a later member of the family with the Gracchan agrarian movement.

Gaius Claudius Pulcher, consul in the year 177 and censor in 169 B.C.,⁷ was a brother of Appius and Publius. The information upon his political career contained in the ancient authorities is so suggestive that I have no hesitation in ranking him as one of the great leaders of the house, close behind the decemvir and the censor. Claudius held some other important offices and commissions. He was augur in 195,⁸ and in the year 191 he sat as praetor upon cases of poisoning in the capital and vicinity.⁹

The most important legislation of his consulship was the *lex Claudia*

¹ Polyb. 22, 16, 4; 22, 17, 1-18, 13; Liv. 39, 33, 3-34, 6; 35, 5-37, 21.

² Liv. 41, 25, 5. In 154 (cf. Polyb. 33, 13, 4) he goes to Prusias in Bithynia.

³ Liv. 38, 35, 5.

⁴ Liv. 38, 35, 10; cf. *CIL*. I, p. 436; Cic. *Brut.* 60, for consulship.

⁵ *CIL*. X, 1250.

⁶ *CIL*. I, p. 279; cf. Liv. 40, 29, 2.

⁷ *CIL*. I, p. 436; Liv. 41, 8, 1; Polyb. 25, 4, 1; Cic. *pro Cacl.* 33.

⁸ Liv. 43, 44, 3.

⁹ Liv. 40, 37, 4.

*de sociis*¹ which ordained : 'qui socii ac nominis Latini, ipsi maiores eorum, M. Claudio T. Quinctio censoribus postve ea apud socios nominis Latini censi essent, ut omnes in suam quisque civitatem ante kal. Novembres redirent.' A law for the prevention of fictitious adoptions and emancipations made for the purpose of gaining Roman citizenship was not passed, though the Latin ambassadors pleaded earnestly for such legislation.² Instead it was decided to pass a *senatus consultum* by which all magistrates before whom manumissions took place should demand subscription to an oath that the manumission did not have for its object a change of civic rights.³

Lange⁴ declares in substance that the immediate effect of this law was to widen the gap between the Latins and the Romans. He further points out that this Claudius was the first who made a distinction between Latins and Romans in triumphal donations, giving to the Latins only one half as much as to the Romans.⁵ Again in 173, when Liguria was divided, the Latins received allotments of three, the burghesses of ten *iugera*. At the time of this law⁶ poor Latins used to sell their sons to *cives libertini*, by whom they were manumitted, becoming *cives libertini* and thus gaining citizen rights. Others adopted sons, left them in their homes, and went to Rome themselves ; having thus complied with the letter, though not with the spirit, of the law they gained Roman citizenship. Indeed, many Latins crept in without any justification at all. In general, then, Lange regards this law as a measure in the interests of the lowest plebeians and freedmen. It was important because it not only banished the Latins from Rome, but it sanctioned for the future an exclusion of the Latins from Roman citizenship.

I find myself able to agree with this view only in part. I believe that the main object of the law was, first, to prevent the depopulation of the Latin towns by immigration to Rome ; second, to protect the industrial classes of the capital from ruinous competition in a labor market already overcrowded ; in short, that the law was an economic, not a political measure. Livy, it is true, represents the immigration of the Latins as due to a desire to better their political position ; but as we

¹ Liv. 41, 9, 9.

² Liv. 41, 8, 9 ff.

³ Liv. 41, 9, 10.

⁴ Lange, *op. c.* II², p. 274.

⁵ Liv. 41, 13.

⁶ Lange, *op. c.* II², p. 271.

hear of no such concerted movement before this period, the inevitable conclusion is that Livy was mistaken as to the main cause of immigration. The chief cause was economic. After the devastation wrought by the Second Punic War the ignorant Latins gravitated to the city to escape ruin.¹ Now, if the Latins were to obtain any advancement at Rome and to fulfill the military duties which Rome demanded of their several communities, they were practically forced to evade stringent laws either as regards military service or as regards citizenship. The laws on citizenship presented a less formidable barrier, and it was also more advantageous for the Latins to fight in the army than not; hence these systematic evasions of the residence and franchise laws, the cause of which Livy, who was no political economist, misinterpreted. Indeed, the bare facts as told in Livy² point to this same conclusion. Thus we learn that the reform was undertaken at the request of ambassadors from the Latin towns: 'Moverunt senatum et legationes socium nominis Latini, quae et censores et priores consules fatigaverant, tandem in senatum introductae. Summa querellarum erat, cives suos Romae censos plerosque Romam commigrasse; quod si permittatur, perpaucis lustris futurum ut *deserta oppida, deserti agri nullum militem dare possent*.' Most modern historians, ignoring these facts, seem to assume that the expulsion of the Latins from Rome was against the protests and interests of the Latins themselves; but the above quotations do not bear out such a view. At least the leading Latin citizens felt the need of such action.

Secondly, the measure was probably designed to relieve the overcrowded labor market of the capital. We have no proof of this in the ancient historians, but it is an almost inevitable deduction from the economic condition of the times, from the general policy of the Claudian house, and from the later attitude of Gaius Claudius in his censorship. From this point of view the law had the effect of an immigration exclusion act, but as an immigration exclusion act made at the request of the Latin home governments it could not, Lange to the contrary, have widened the breach between Latins and Romans.³

¹ On the wretched economic state of Italy cf. Liv. 28, 11, 8; 39, 41, 6; 42, 19, 1 and 2.

² Liv. 41, 8, 6. The whole passage is illuminating.

³ It is needless to speak here of the audacious disregard of precedent shown by Claudius at the outbreak of the Istrian war, of the details of the campaign, or of

At this time also Claudius apparently had a colonial policy, for which there must have been abundant economic reasons. He may have been instrumental in the foundation of Luna¹ which took place in his consulship. In any event, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the letter to the senate, in which, according to Livy, he set forth the great advantages that would accrue to the populace by the distribution of the lands conquered in Cisalpine Gaul,² represents with substantial accuracy the policy of Claudius.

On his return from a campaign against Perseus in 169³ he became censor, with Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus as his colleague.⁴ Their censorship was marked by strictness and energy. First, by severe legislation⁵ they reorganized the Roman army in Macedonia, which, owing to the laxity of the commanders, was on the verge of disintegration.⁶ Then they purged the senate by striking seven names from the roll.⁷ Their scrutiny of the knights was even more severe;⁸ but the greatest cause of offense to this order was their method of letting out public contracts and the annulment, doubtless with good cause, of all contracts made by the censors Fulvius and Postumius.⁹ After much vain agitation the contractors finally succeeded in winning over the tribune Rutilius, who, filled with personal animosity to the censors, promulgated a *rogatio*, that all contracts let out by Claudius and Gracchus should be null and void, and that the right of bidding should be open to all. On the day for considering the law Rutilius, taking advantage of a technical carelessness of Claudius, brought against him a charge of *perduellio* for having interfered with the functions of the tribune.¹⁰ In the trial which followed Claudius, in spite of the adverse vote of the majority of the first class and of the knights, was saved, not so much by the spectacular action of the senators, recounted in Livy and elsewhere, as by the efforts of his colleague Gracchus.¹¹

his double triumph. On the campaign cf. Liv. 41, 10, 5-41, 18 *passim*; on his triumph, Liv. 41, 13, 6-8; *CIL*. I², pp. 48 and 341.

¹ Liv. 41, 13, 4.

² Liv. 41, 16, 9.

³ Liv. 42, 49, 8.

⁴ Liv. 43, 14, 1.

⁵ Liv. 43, 15, 5-7.

⁶ Liv. 43, 14, 7.

⁷ Liv. 43, 15, 6.

⁸ Liv. 43, 16, 1.

⁹ Liv. 43, 16, 2.

¹⁰ Liv. 43, 16, 3 ff.

¹¹ Cf. Liv. 43, 16, 14; Auct. *de Vir. Ill.* 57; Val. Max. VI, 5, 3. On the wonderful concord of the censors cf. Cic. *de Invent.* I, 48; Gell. 7, 16, 11; Fest. p. 285 (M).

In this narrative the opposition of the commercial classes to Claudius, as shown by the action of the contractors and the knights, is significant. It is, of course, possible to dodge this difficulty by saying that Claudius was not opposed to the commercial classes as such, but merely to their efforts to loot the treasury. Such an answer is far from being entirely satisfactory. We shall come nearer the truth, I fancy, if we remember that Nitzsch has on the whole rather overestimated the closeness of the relation between the Claudii and the wealthier classes. In spite of his mistake in emphasis we are surprised at the close approximation to his general theory revealed by a study of such leaders as Appius the decemvir and Appius the censor; but the average members of the house seem to have acted rather in the interests of the small shopkeepers and artisans who belonged largely to the class of *libertini* and clients.

We see this same solicitude for the interests of the lower city classes in the action of Claudius in relation to the status of the freedmen and the tribes, perhaps the most important incident of his censorship. Livy's account best explains the principles involved:¹ 'In quattuor urbanas tribus discripti erant libertini praeter eos, quibus filius quinquenni maior ex se natus esset . . . eos ubi proximo lustro censi essent censer iusserunt et eos qui praedium praediave rustica pluris sestertium triginta milium haberent . . . censendi ius factum est. Hoc cum ita servatum esset, negabat Claudius suffragii lationem iniussu populi censuram cuiquam homini, nedum ordini universo adimere. Neque enim si tribu movere possit, quod sit nihil aliud quam mutare iubere tribum, ideo *omnibus quinque et triginta tribus* emovere posse, id est civitatem libertatemque eripere, non ubi censeatur finire, censu excludere. Haec inter ipsos disceptata; postremo eo descensum est ut ex quattuor urbanis tribubus unam palam in atrio Libertatis sortirentur, in quam omnes qui servitutem servissent coicerent.'² These words suggest several important considerations. In the first place, it is obvious that the legislation made a distinction between the more and the less prosperous *libertini*. The more prosperous were listed among the country tribes. As Ihne has it,³ "The influence of the poorest classes was thus re-

¹ Liv. 45, 15.

² Cf. also Cic. *de Orat.* I, 38; Auct. *de Vir. Ill.* 57.

³ *Hist.* Vol. IV, p. 38.

stricted to a minimum, and those freedmen who gave proof of thoroughly conservative sentiments and of attachment to Rome either by owning large portions of land or by marrying and raising families were ranked with the best of the citizens." The importance attached to family raising was thus shown by making it the basis of a genuine timocratic distinction of the same general nature as the reforms introduced by the census of Servius Tullius.

It is evident from Livy's¹ testimony that this law was the result of a compromise: 'gratiae actae et Sempronio, qui in bene coepto perseverasset, et Claudio, qui non impedisset.' Personally, I am inclined to believe that Claudius had the best of the bargain, for he had succeeded in improving decidedly the condition of the progressive *libertini*, had maintained the admirable constitutional point that the censor could not remove citizens from *all* the tribes, and had made the slightest concession possible to his colleague in agreeing to confine the unprogressive *libertini* to a single tribe. In short, Gaius Claudius, although much neglected by modern historians, was a useful statesman, who seems to have followed the same general policy as the decemvir and the censor.

Like the censor, also, Gaius Claudius spent large sums for public works.² Indeed, we are informed that the censors even asked for a prorogation of their term on this ground, but this was prevented by the veto of the tribune Tremellius.³ Finally, in the year 167, after the battle of Pydna,⁴ Claudius went to Macedonia with nine others on a sort of peace commission to aid L. Paullus. He was also detached to visit Achaia.⁵ His death apparently occurred during this year.⁶

Appius Claudius Pulcher, the son of Gaius, was consul in the year 143.⁷ Appius Claudius and Publius Licinius Crassus were the leaders of the party opposed to the partisans of Scipio.⁸ In the year 143 the elections went against the Scipionic party on the whole; Appius Claudius Pulcher and Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus were elected consuls. Like his father, Appius bent all his energies to securing a triumph. He selected a war against the Alpine tribe of the Salassi as the most satisfactory means to this end.⁹ When, however, he returned

¹ Liv. 45, 15, 7.

² Liv. 44, 16, 9.

³ Liv. 45, 15, 9.

⁴ Liv. 45, 17, 2.

⁵ Polyb. 30, 13, 8.

⁶ Liv. 45, 44, 3.

⁷ *CIL* I, p. 438.

⁸ Cic. *de Re Publ.* 1, 31.

⁹ On the wars cf. Dio Cass. *frag.* 74, ed. Bekk.; Oros. 5, 4, 7; Obseq. ed. Jahn, 21; Strab. 4, 74, 10; Liv. *Per.* 53.

to Rome the senate refused him a triumph. He, therefore, determined to celebrate a triumph at his own expense and within the city. One of the tribunes attempted to prevent this, but his purpose was foiled by the daring of Claudia, the general's daughter, a Vestal Virgin, who escorted her father to the Capitol.¹

In the year 142 Appius made a bitter but unsuccessful canvass for the censorship against P. Scipio Aemilianus.² Later, in the year 136, he gained the office with Q. Fulvius Nobilior as his colleague.³ The severity of their censorship is hinted at in a fragment of Dio.⁴ According to Lange⁵ the office was gained only after he had been transformed like a true Claudian from a champion of the *optimates* into a defender of the popular party, this transformation being partly the result of the influence of the Gracchi, partly of friction with the nobility. It is true that we have statements to this effect in Plutarch, but we have no acts to substantiate them. Opposition to the Scipionic circle is certainly made out. Doubtless ultra-patricians belonged to this opposition, but it is also true that the leaders of the city populace were equally opposed to the main tenet of the Scipionic creed, the extension of the suffrage to the allies. It is, therefore, quite as reasonable to assume that Claudius belonged to this wing of the opposition, but the evidence is confessedly meagre on either side.

In any case, the association of Claudius with the Gracchi is due to the traditional friendship existing between the Claudian and the Sempronian gens. Appius Claudius Rufus, consul in 268, was associated with a Sempronius in the campaign against the Picentes.⁶ C. Claudius Centho, also associated with a Sempronius in the consulship,⁷ was

¹ Cic. *pro Cael.* 34; Val. Max. 5, 4, 6; Suet. *Tib.* 2. Claudius had as precedents for his attitude the case of L. Postumius Megillus, 294 B.C., and of C. Flaminius and P. Furius Philus in 223; cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, I³, p. 134. Polyb. 6, 15, 8, proves, however, that the senate had control of triumphs.

² Plut. *Præcep. Rei Pub. Gerund.* 11, 10, and *Paul.* 28, 3; Cic. *de Re Pub.* 1, 19, 31; *pro Scaur.* 32.

³ Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 4, 1; Dio, *frag.* 80. Macrob. 3, 14, 14, shows he was a *Salus*, and Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 4, 1, an augur.

⁴ Dio, *frag.* 81, ed. Bekk. Cf. Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 4, 1.

⁵ II³, p. 346.

⁶ Eutrop. 2, 16; Flor. 1, 14.

⁷ *CIL.* I, p. 435; Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 3; *Cat. Mai.* 50.

himself appointed dictator by a member of that gens.¹ Appius Claudius Pulcher and M. Sempronius Tuditanus were consuls in the year 185.² Finally, Gaius Claudius Pulcher, the father of Appius, held both consulship and censorship with the father of the Gracchi, and the personal relations between the two men were remarkably close.³ This traditional friendship between the two families was cemented by the marriage of the daughter of Appius to Tiberius Gracchus.⁴

Under these circumstances his appointment to the Gracchan land commission of three was, even on a purely family basis, most natural.⁵ A second reason, however, may perhaps be found in the growing interest of the Claudian family in all such colonial and economic reforms. Thus in 268, when Claudius Rufus was consul, colonies were founded at Beneventum and Ariminum. Publius Claudius, the uncle of Appius, had been triumvir of Gravisca and perhaps patron of Nola.⁶ The colonial ambitions of Gaius, the father of Appius, have been alluded to.⁷ It was shortly after this appointment that Appius and Licinius died, and their places were filled by the appointment of Flaccus and Carbo.⁸

With this period the history of the consistent development of any clan policy may perhaps end. The rule of houses was now drawing to a close at Rome; the Fabii, the Scipios, the Aemilii were losing the influence which they had exercised upon politics by clan traditions; the rule of individuals was now beginning, and the autocracy, successful or attempted, of a Marius, a Sulla, a Pompey, a Caesar, foreshadowed the dyarchy of an Augustus. Before the genius of such men clan policies must yield. Hence we need not be surprised to find Clodius serving as 'the ape of Caesar,' or the systematic, but unoriginal Tiberius, carrying out the general policy of Augustus, in whose school he had been so accurately trained. The study of the politics of the later

¹ Liv. 25, 2, 3.

² CIL. I, p. 436.

³ CIL. I, p. 436; Liv. 41, 8, 1; Polyb. 25, 4, 1; Cic. *pro Cael.* 33; Obs. 8.

⁴ Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 4.

⁵ CIL. I, p. 156, 552; cf. also CIL. X, 289, 3760, 3861; Liv. *Per.* 58; Vell. Pat. 2, 2; App. *B. C.* I, 13: 1, 18; Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 13, 1.

⁶ Cf. p. 44.

⁷ Cf. p. 47.

⁸ App. *B. C.* I, 18. On the oratory of Appius cf. Cic. *Brut.* 108.

members of the gens properly belongs to another paper, though such a study would doubtless throw great light upon many events in the earlier history of the gens.

What, then, are the essential points in the policy of the patrician Claudii as developed by this investigation of each member of the gens from 495 to 133 B.C.?

In the first place as regards the earlier and more obscure members of the Claudian family the results of this investigation are purely destructive. Examination seems to show that the traditional view of their policy rests almost entirely upon rhetorical speeches and the *dicta* of the historians, as distinguished from recorded acts. Thus Appius Claudius Pulcher, consul in the year 495 B.C., delivers several orations against the *plebs* or in defence of their creditors, the patricians. In Dionysius,¹ in fact, we have the career of Appius dramatically set forth in six speeches. Almost our entire testimony upon the life of Gaius Claudius, the so-called uncle of the decemvir, is made up of such harangues.² Our information as to the consulship of Appius Claudius the decemvir in 471 is much confused from the same cause. Again we have a series of four speeches assigned to Appius Claudius Crassus,³ consul of 403, one of the most obscure members of the family. On the other hand, comparatively few speeches are assigned to the more important men, such as Appius the decemvir, Appius Claudius Caecus the censor, and Gaius Claudius the censor of 169. Even with minor personages the number of fictitious speeches decreases as the historians draw nearer their own period. It is, therefore, perfectly evident that the historians amplified their meagre annalistic sources by manufactured speeches.

But may not the ascription of such patrician characteristics to the Claudian gens, made so persistently in these speeches by all the ancient historians, imply that such actually was the dominating temper of the family? We may fairly admit this claim if the recorded acts of the family do not contradict the testimony of the speeches. In this paper, however, it has been my endeavor to prove that such a contradiction does exist. Are we, then, to regard these speeches as malicious inventions, or as the results of the falsification of some earlier annalist? I

¹ Cf. p. 7.

² Cf. pp. 8 and 9.

³ Cf. p. 25.

cannot accept either of these alternatives. On the contrary, I believe that these historians had some justification for their views in two Claudian characteristics.

In the first place, nearly every true Claudian was possessed of a self-sufficient, but tactless pride, which sought well-defined ends, but in the pursuit of them seemed to rejoice in offending the sensibilities of the average Roman citizen. Thus Appius Claudius the decemvir,¹ contrary to all precedent, is said to have received votes for himself when presiding over the assembly. Ironical pride, though certainly not the leading motive, may have played some part in the admission of the sons or grandsons of freedmen to the senate by Appius Claudius Caecus,² and also in his connection with Flavius.³ To disgrace the senate Publius Claudius, consul in 249,⁴ named his freedman Marcus Claudius Glicia dictator, when himself ordered to lay down the consulship after the defeat at Drepana. The impatient wish of his sister Claudia,⁵ that her brother might live again and by another defeat lessen the crowd that pressed upon her litter, illustrates the same trait. In the year 185 B.C. Appius Claudius Pulcher, then consul, conducted a successful, but unseemly canvass for the election of his brother Publius.⁶ Both Gaius Claudius, consul 177, and Appius Claudius, consul 143, made unscrupulous efforts to gain the honor of a triumph.⁷ Although such acts of pride and reckless audacity will be recognized by a thoughtful investigator as not inconsistent with democratic leadership, to the mind of the popular historian they are more naturally associated with aristocratic principles.

Especially offensive to Roman prejudices must have been the manifestation of this independence in religious affairs. Thus Appius Claudius Caecus deprived the Potitii and Pinarii of their sacred monopoly at the *Ara Maxima*,⁸ and unsuccessfully attempted to do away with the annual feast of the pipers.⁹ The drowning of the sacred chickens by Publius Claudius became a proverbial instance of impiety.¹⁰ Even the famous act of Claudia Quinta,¹¹ though in the event approved by the *Magna*

¹ Cf. p. 13.

² Cf. pp. 28-30.

³ Cf. p. 37.

¹⁰ Cf. p. 42.

⁴ Cf. p. 42.

⁵ Suet. *Tib.* 2.

⁶ Cf. p. 43.

⁷ Cf. pp. 46, 49.

⁸ Cf. p. 35.

⁹ Cf. p. 35.

¹¹ For the numerous ancient references to this event cf. Pauly, *Lex. s. v. Claudius*.

Mater, was essentially an unprecedented assumption of priestly functions by a private citizen. The means by which Claudia as Vestal Virgin secured her father's triumph in the year 143 must have seemed little less than sacrilege.¹ To later historians such indifference to religious ritual might well seem like arrogant patrician scorn of the most sacred institutions of the state. In reality, however, this trait associates the family rather with plebeian feeling, for that class always showed scant regard for the old patrician religion, which was so often used to thwart their political advancement.²

The consistent opposition of the Claudii to the tribunician families and their policy furnishes a far more important reason for the attitude of the ancient historians. Gaius Claudius in the year 457 is said to have opposed the increase of the tribunes from five to ten;³ as consul in 471 Appius Claudius opposed the Publilian law of Volero.⁴ As decemvir in 450 he was supposed to have planned the abolition of the tribunate;⁵ and the tribunician families of the Icili and the Duilii are represented as especially opposed to the decemvirate.⁶ Appius Claudius Caecus was assailed under the Aemilian law by the tribune Publius Sempronius.⁷ Publius Claudius was charged with *perduellio* by one of the tribunes,⁸ and Gaius Claudius, whose course in his censorship, 169 B.C., aroused the most violent opposition of the tribunician faction, was finally brought to trial on the same charge by the tribune Rutilius.⁹ It was a tribune who attempted to deprive Appius Claudius, the consul of 143, of his triumph.¹⁰

¹ Cf. p. 50.

² Cf. p. 8.

⁴ Cf. p. 10.

⁵ Cf. p. 47.

³ Cf. Marq. *Sacrahes*. pp. 39, 51, 66.

⁶ Cf. p. 13.

⁷ Cf. p. 35.

⁸ Cf. p. 22.

⁹ Cf. p. 42.

¹⁰ On the other hand, the Claudii sometimes found support among the tribunes. Thus Appius Claudius Caecus is retained in office, in spite of the motion of Sempronius, by the veto of three tribunes; cf. p. 36. Appius Claudius, the consul of 185, is apparently aided by a party among the tribunes in his efforts in behalf of his brother; cf. Liv. 39, 32, 12. Appius Claudius, the consul of 143, is closely associated with the reforms of the two great Gracchan tribunes. This apparent contradiction can, however, be most satisfactorily explained on the theory that these members of the house, like other patrician leaders, knew how to manipulate the tribunician veto power in their own interests. The association of Appius Claudius Pulcher with the reforms of the Gracchi is due to affinity and to sympathy with their agrarian ideas.

If, then, we believe that the entire safety of democratic principles at Rome depended upon the tribunes, we must accept the view of the reactionary policy of the Claudian house, either in its fullest extent as found in the ancient historians, or in its modified form as set forth by Herzog. That the tribunes were the original leaders of the movement by which the more intelligent and wealthy members of the rustic *plebs* gained political equality with the patricians cannot be doubted. That the tribunician families, even before such an equality had been finally gained, tended to coalesce with a considerable party of liberal tendencies among the patricians into a new nobility, based on office holding rather than descent, seems equally certain. Moreover, we have plenty of evidence that, as the tribunate grew in importance, the families who monopolized it showed a tendency to separate from the lower ranks of the people, especially from the city trading classes, and even to act at times as ministers of the senate.¹

The first article, therefore, in the political creed of the Claudii was a persistent and inherited opposition to the policy of the tribunes, the champions of the *plebs rustica*. The second article, held with equal sincerity and fervor, was the defence of the *libertini*. This, it seems to me, is the central fact in the history of the family, from which all

¹ Thus at the time of the Sexto-Licinian laws (Liv. 6, 39, 5 ff.) the mass of the people wish to vote on the law of debt alone, and seem to care nothing about political equality. So in Livy, 7, 19, we hear that the people, engrossed by their private distress, are not disturbed by the election of two patrician consuls. We have several illustrations of the tribunes yielding to senatorial influence. Thus in Dionysius, 10, 9, the tribunes, at the suggestion of the senate, drop the Terentilian rogation. In the earlier days of the college patricians were even coöpted into the office; Liv. 3, 65, 1; 5, 10, 11. In Livy, 5, 25, 1, we hear that the settlement of Veii was prevented by the union of the patricians and part of the college of tribunes. In 393 (cf. Liv. 5, 29, 6) Virginius and Pomponius are assailed because to gratify the patricians they had opposed the proposals of their tribunician colleagues. The efforts of Manlius to improve the condition of the lower classes are thwarted by the union of the consular and the plebeian tribunes. Livy especially tells us, 7, 19, 5, that the latter put themselves under the direction of the senate. The nobility even persuade a part of the tribunes to veto the Licinian laws; cf. Liv. 6, 35, 6. In Livy, 7, 15, we find the tribune Poetilius proposing a corrupt practise act at the suggestion of the senate. In Livy, 8, 33, the father of Fabius appeals against the sentence of Papirius, the plebeian dictator, to the plebeian tribunes. In Livy, 10, 37, also, the tribunes appear once more as ministers of the nobility.

theories as to its position in Roman political life must start. It would seem, moreover, that this interest in the freedmen proceeded not from a desire to use their influence for vulgar personal ambition, but from an enlightened purpose to improve the condition of the lower classes in the state. In this patronage of the freedmen is to be found the simplest explanation of the action of Appius the decemvir in 471, in opposing the Publilian law of Volero.¹ Appius Claudius Caecus admitted the sons or perhaps the grandsons of manumitted slaves to the senate.² In order to secure for the state, then in the throes of the Second Samnite War, a larger army, he admitted the *humiles*, among whom the *libertini* must have been very numerous, to all the tribes,³ and probably gave them an improved standing in the *comitia centuriata*. The election of Cn. Flavius to the curule aedileship⁴ in 305, secured largely through the influence of the censor, was a recognition of the services which the intelligent city freedmen could render the state. Doubtless, Publius Claudius was influenced by this precedent when he appointed his freedman Glicia dictator.⁵ Animated by the same policy, Gaius Claudius⁶ in his censorship, 169 B.C., improved the condition of the progressive freedmen within the tribes, and guaranteed membership in one tribe to even the most unprogressive. If we were to extend this inquiry to the later republic and the empire, we should find such important men as the tribune Publius Clodius and the emperor Claudius showing the same interest in the position of the freedmen. Thus in the year 58 B.C. Clodius restored the political, social, and religious associations of the freedmen which centred around the *compita*.⁷ The influence of freedmen over the emperor is almost proverbial. In fact, his admission of freedmen to the senate⁸ appears to have been modelled on that of Appius Claudius Caecus.

If the Claudii were sincerely devoted to the interests of the *libertini*, we shall not be surprised to find them also endeavoring to improve the political, social, and economic conditions of the city classes in general; for the *libertini* were perhaps the most numerous element in this *plebs*

¹ Cf. p. 10.

² Cf. pp. 31-34.

³ Cf. p. 42.

⁴ Cf. pp. 28-30.

⁵ Cf. p. 37.

⁶ Cf. p. 48.

⁷ Cic. *pro Sest.* 34; 55; *in Pis.* 9; *Red. in Sen.* 33; *de Dom. sua*, 54; *ad Att.* 3, 15, 4; Ascon. p. 8; Dio Cass. 38, 13; Plut. *Cic.* 30.

⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 11, 24; Suet. *Claud.* 24.

urbana, which made its living, not by agriculture and constant warfare like the *plebs rustica*, but by shopkeeping, the mechanical arts, and petty commerce. In fact, we do find this policy strongly marked. Thus a college of *mercatores* was probably established by Appius Claudius, consul of 495 B.C.¹ The laws of the Twelve Tables contained provisions on boundaries and for the organization of trade guilds, and probably introduced coinage regulations and the publication of the calendar.² Appius Claudius Caecus, the greatest statesman of the family, made the welfare of the city classes the centre of his policy. He improved their political condition in the tribes and *comitia centuriata*, thus making them at once citizens and soldiers;³ he improved their economic condition by employing them on vast public works designed to make Rome the commercial and political centre of Italy;⁴ it seems probable that he secured for them a measure of social equality by putting movable property on the same basis as landed property for civic ratings.⁵ Finally, through the publication of the *legis actiones* and calendar by Flavius, he secured to the humblest citizens fair treatment in the law courts.⁶ The career of Gaius Claudius, consul in 177 and censor in 169, affords a most striking parallel to that of Appius Claudius Caecus. He tried to protect the city classes from the ruinous competition of Italian immigration by the *lex Claudia de sociis*.⁷ He raised the progressive members of the four city tribes to a higher position in the *comitia tributa* and *comitia centuriata*.⁸ Finally, he constructed such important public works that he too was obliged to request the prorogation of his censorship.⁹

Besides protecting the city classes the more far-sighted statesmen, and under this term I do not mean to include the average Claudian consul, had a lofty conception of the expansion and solidarity of the Roman power. This was especially true of Appius Claudius Caecus, who, if the testimony of Suetonius¹⁰ be true, may have looked beyond the city state, and who planned naval and commercial development,¹¹ that Rome might, as the head of a united Italy, become a 'world

¹ Cf. p. 7.

² Cf. p. 20.

³ Cf. pp. 31-34.

⁴ Cf. p. 31.

⁵ Cf. p. 33.

⁶ Cf. p. 37.

⁷ Cf. p. 45.

⁸ Cf. p. 48.

⁹ Cf. p. 49.

¹⁰ Cf. p. 38.

¹¹ Cf. p. 38.

power.' The active part taken by Claudius Caudex in furthering the annexation of Sicily is the natural development of this policy.¹

The interest in colonization shown by certain later members of the gens is naturally connected with the desire to expand Roman influence and with the efforts to improve the condition of the city populace by agrarian reforms. Thus during the consulship of Appius Claudius Rufus colonies were founded at Ariminum and Beneventum.² Publius Claudius, consul in 184, added to the number of colonists at Cales, was a triumvir of the town of Gravisca,³ and perhaps a patron of Nola.⁴ Gaius Claudius, censor in 169, was an earnest advocate of the distribution of the lands conquered in Cisalpine Gaul.⁵ Finally, Appius Claudius, consul in 143, was one of the Gracchan commissioners for distributing lands.⁶

It is evident, therefore, that the results of this investigation of the Claudian policy do not confirm any of the four theories outlined above. The ancient view, enforced largely in rhetorical speeches, which represents the Claudii as ultra-patrician, arose naturally from their proud self-sufficiency and opposition to the tribunes. It must be rejected, however, because the acts of the family stand in striking contrast to the views of the ancient historians, and because opposition to the tribunate does not necessarily imply a reactionary policy. Mommsen saw this contradiction and naturally concluded that the Claudii were leaders of the plebeians. His view is on the whole unsatisfactory; first, because it fails to account for the opposition of the family to the tribunes; second, because it makes no distinction between the *plebs urbana* and the *plebs rustica*. The view of Herzog is too fine-spun. It lays too great stress upon the ironical pride of the family in referring several important reforms to that source. In regarding the Claudian patronage of the *libertini* and city classes as proceeding from the lust for despotic power Herzog is as vague as the ancient historians themselves. Nitzsch's view approaches more closely the truth, it seems to me. He grasped correctly the central fact that the Claudii were interested in the city classes, but he errs, especially in the earlier period of Roman history, in regarding these classes as a body of prosperous merchants engaged

¹ Cf. p. 41.

² Cf. p. 41.

³ Cf. p. 44.

⁴ Cf. p. 44.

⁵ Cf. p. 47.

⁶ Cf. p. 50.

in transmarine commerce rather than as a despised crowd of petty tradesmen, recruited largely from the client and freedman class. To believe that Appius the decemvir wished to make Rome a great commercial centre is a species of anachronism. Doubtless, this purpose controlled the policy of Appius Claudius Caecus and Claudius Caudex; the extent to which it influenced the later members of the family is problematical.

This paper has, I trust, at least suggested the possibility of a somewhat different conception of the family policy. The Claudii appear to me to have been sincere but often tactless and arbitrary champions of the despised city classes. They are constantly opposing the policy of the tribunes, the champions of the *plebs rustica*, whose interests often conflict with those of the *plebs urbana*. The great men of the house are Appius Claudius the decemvir, who aimed to unite all classes into one city state, whose citizens should enjoy the harmony secured by a written code of law;¹ Appius the censor of 312, who desired to make Rome the political and commercial centre of a united Italy; and Gaius Claudius, the censor of 169, the protector of the economic interests of the capital.

¹ Dionys. 10, 54.

THE SHIELD DEVICES OF THE GREEKS

BY GEORGE HENRY CHASE

THE principles which governed the choice of devices for shields among the Greeks have never been investigated with the care which the interest of the subject and the large amount of available material demand.¹ The ordinary handbooks and manuals of antiquities usually devote some space to a discussion of the subject, but this treatment is, in every case, summary and therefore unsatisfactory. In the older books, that is, in those which date from the first half of the last century or earlier,² this fact is easily accounted for and readily excused. Before 1850, and even for some years after that date, a great part of the vase paintings and other monuments, which form by far the most important source of our information, were either undiscovered or only imperfectly published. But even the more recent manuals do not furnish any complete discussion of the subject, or attempt any satisfactory and scientific classification of the various devices actually found upon the vases and other monuments.³ The writers, as a rule, content

¹ The only previous discussion of which I am aware is the dissertation of Fuchs, *De ratione quam veteres artifices in clipeis imaginibus exornandis adhibuerint*, Göttingen, 1852. This, I am sorry to say, I have not been able to consult at first hand. Fuchs' general conclusions, however, are given by Helbig (*Hom. Epos*², p. 403). He appears to have distinguished only three classes of devices: (1) Apotropaia; (2) devices which emphasize the use of the shield in war; and (3) devices which have reference to the country or the individuality of the bearer.

² For a list of the older writers see von Müller, *Handbuch d. kl. Altertumswissenschaft*, IV, 1, 2², pp. 288 ff. The devices mentioned by these writers are almost always the same, the bosses on the shield of Agamemnon, the Λ of the Lacedaemonians, the Σ of the Sicyonians, etc. Cf. Wachsmuth, *Hellenische Altertümer*, II, 1, pp. 365, 386; Hoffmann, *Die Altertumswissenschaft*, p. 450; Rüstow-Köchly, *Geschichte d. gr. Kriegswesens*, pp. 16, 104; Jähns, *Handbuch e. Geschichte d. altgr. Kriegswesens*, p. 98.

³ Cf. Droysen, *Heerwesen u. Kriegführung d. Griechen*, in K. F. Hermann's *Lehrbuch d. gr. Ant.* II, 2³, p. 13; Bauer, *Die gr. Kriegsaltertümer*, in von Müller, *Handbuch*, IV, 1, 2³, pp. 296, 322, 407, 425; Guhl u. Koner, *Leben d. Gr. u.*

themselves with noticing a small number of emblems, taken from literary, rather than monumental sources, and with suggesting rather than carefully deducing the principles which governed their choice. None of these writers, moreover, pay any attention to the very interesting traces of shield decoration in the Mycenaean monuments. Under these circumstances, it has seemed to me that a careful collection and comparison of the evidence, monumental as well as literary, might afford a clearer conception of the principles underlying the choice of shield devices, or at least establish upon a surer and more scientific basis the various classes that have already been proposed.¹ Such a comparison I have undertaken, with the aid of the very full collection of archaeological publications in the Harvard Library, and it is the results of this investigation which I here present.²

For the sake of clearness, as well as to avoid a common error in previous discussions, I have adopted for this paper a strictly chronological division. I shall discuss: (1) the Mycenaean Age (about 2000–1000 B.C.); (2) the Homeric Age (1000–700 B.C.); and (3) the historical period (from 700 B.C. on).

It was the Carians, according to Herodotus, who first fastened crests upon their helmets and placed devices upon their shields;³ and this tradition is, perhaps, true, in so far as it points to an Eastern origin for these more ornamental parts of the Greek warrior's armor. At all events, the earliest monuments that we have — the Mycenaean — come from a civilization which was strongly influenced by the East.

Römer⁶, p. 392; Smith, *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Ant.* I³, pp. 458 ff.; Baumeister, *Denkmäler d. kl. Altertums*, III, p. 2039; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Ant. Gr. et Rom.* I, pp. 1249 ff.

¹ Cf., for instance, the various classes mentioned by Müller in Baumeister, *l. c.* and by Albert, in Daremberg et Saglio.

² The subject of this paper was first suggested to me by Professor John Williams White, and I have been greatly aided in preparing it by Professor J. H. Wright.

³ Cf. Herod. I, 171: καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέσθαι Κᾶρες εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοι εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι. Cf. also Strabo, I4, p. 661: τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ζήλου τὰ τε ὄχανα ποιῶνται τεκμήρια καὶ τὰ ἐπίσημα καὶ τοὺς λόφους. ἅπαντα γὰρ λέγεται Καρικὰ. The schol. on Thuc. I, 8 attributes the invention of ὀμφαλοὶ and λόφοι to the Carians. But Herodotus plainly makes a distinction between καταδέξαντες and ποιησάμενοι.

In the Mycenaean monuments which the last twenty-five years have brought to light, we find numerous traces of decoration upon shields. The most familiar case is, perhaps, that of the warrior in the lion-hunting scene upon the well-known sword-blade.¹ Here, upon the notched shield of the first advancing warrior, inlaid in a darker metal than that of which the shield is made, we find two and possibly three rosettes. The shields of the other three warriors are represented from the inside, and are not available, therefore, for our present purpose. But other evidences of shield decoration are not wanting in the Mycenaean monuments. A number of small shields of glazed porcelain, which may have served as amulets, are decorated with several small holes; while a similar shield of ivory is ornamented with a number of rosettes not unlike those which we have discovered upon the sword-blade.² A gold intaglio³ shows us a notched shield of the familiar Mycenaean type, decorated with a double circle of bosses about the centre. It seems not improbable, as Schuchhardt thinks,⁴ that these bosses are the gold buttons with cores of bone or wood which were found so commonly in the tombs at Mycenae, and that the shield is the ἀσπίς ὀμφαλόεσσα of Homer.⁵ Again, the wall-painting from Mycenae, which represents the worship of a tropaion or idol, seems to have, upon a notched shield, a geometric design of vertical lines joined by oblique cross-bars.⁶ The embossed lion's head of gold from grave iv⁷ was most probably a shield

¹ Schliemann, *Mycenae and Tiryns*, fig. 446, p. 282, and Appendix, p. 386 (ed. of 1880); Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen*, fig. 237, p. 268; Schuchhardt-Sellars, *Schliemann's Excavations*, fig. 227, p. 229; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, VI, pl. 18, p. 782.

² Cf. Gardner, *J. H. S.* XIII, p. 22, Nos. 5, 6, 8.

³ Schliemann, *l. c.* fig. 254, p. 174; Schuchhardt, fig. 201, p. 238; Schuchhardt-Sellars, fig. 178, p. 196; Perrot et Chipiez, VI, fig. 423, p. 840.

⁴ Cf. Schuchhardt, *l. c.* p. 278; Schuchhardt-Sellars, p. 237.

⁵ Cf. Hom. *Il.* 4, 448. Schuchhardt's contention is disputed by Ridgeway (*The Early Age of Greece*, I, pp. 321 f.).

⁶ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1887, pl. 10; Schuchhardt, fig. 310, p. 336; Schuchhardt-Sellars, fig. 288, p. 291; Perrot et Chipiez, VI, fig. 440, p. 889. The cross lines do not come out plainly in Schuchhardt or in Schuchhardt-Sellars.

⁷ Schliemann, *l. c.* fig. 326, p. 211, cf. p. 222; Schuchhardt, fig. 249, p. 279; Schuchhardt-Sellars, fig. 237, p. 238.

device, as suggested by Schuchhardt.¹ Finally, a wooden shield which has been put together out of a large number of fragments, has a hole at one side of the centre, intended, doubtless, to accommodate a device.²

So much for the evidence of the Mycenaean monuments, scanty and unsatisfactory in many respects, but sufficient to prove that the use of shield devices was familiar to the Greeks of the Mycenaean Age. Further than this we cannot go, perhaps, in the present state of our knowledge. Yet it ought to be pointed out that, even in these early times, we can recognize two distinct principles of shield decoration. The geometric ornament, the bosses, and the rosettes point to a class of emblems which were chosen purely for decorative effect, while in the lion's head we have an example of a device intended to add to the terrible aspect of the shield. These two classes we may call respectively "decorative" devices and "terrible" devices.³ The distinction will become clearer as we proceed.

For the Mycenaean Age, as we have seen, the sources of our knowledge are exclusively monumental. For the Homeric Age, on the other hand, our chief source of information is naturally the Homeric poems themselves.⁴ Here again, as in the Mycenaean Age, we find that the

¹ Schuchhardt, pp. 279, 280 (Schuchhardt-Sellers, pp. 237, 238). He compares with the lion's head the devices found upon the shields from the cave of Idaean Zeus in Crete, *Mus. Ital.* II, Atlas, pl. 2, 3, 9. Schuchhardt would also assign the great silver bull's head (Schliemann, *l. c.* figs. 327, 328, pp. 216, 217; Schuchhardt, fig. 250, p. 280; Schuchhardt-Sellers, fig. 248, p. 247) to a shield. This seems to me an improbable conjecture.

² Cf. Schuchhardt, fig. 290, p. 311; Schuchhardt-Sellers, fig. 276, p. 269. In a vase from Tiryns (cf. Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pl. 14, p. 103, cf. p. 353; Schuchhardt, fig. 130, p. 158; Schuchhardt-Sellers, fig. 132, p. 132), I formerly thought I could recognize devices on the shields of the two warriors, but further consideration has convinced me that these "devices" are due entirely to the wearing away of the paint.

³ The name "apotropaion" is often applied to these "terrible" devices, but this designation is indefinite and unsatisfactory. As commonly used, it is applied indiscriminately to any device which was intended to protect the bearer, either by frightening the enemy, or by appealing to the protection of a god, or by some magic power inherent in the symbol itself. I have, therefore, avoided the use of this word, and tried to adopt a more definite terminology.

⁴ It is now quite generally conceded that the Homeric poems were composed during the last half of the ninth and the greater part of the eighth century B.C. (Cf. Christ, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.* in von Müller, *Handbuch*, VII³, p. 51.) We may there-

use of shield devices is perfectly familiar, although, strangely enough, in all the works that pass under the name of Homer, there are but three passages which describe the ornamentation of shields.¹ In *Il.* 5, 739–742, the aegis of Athena is described: ‘And upon it were Eris and Alke and horrid Io, upon it the Gorgon head of the dread monster, dreadful, terrible, the monster of aegis-bearing Zeus.’ The shield of Agamemnon had twenty-one bosses—twenty of tin, one of cyanus—as well as a Gorgon between Deimos and Phobos,² while the shield of Achilles³ is adorned with varied scenes of human life, fitted into an elaborate cosmographic scheme, with earth, heaven, and sea, sun, moon, and stars at the centre, and the stream of Ocean at the outside. Here we recognize again the two principles which we found in the Mycenaean shield decorations—the one a principle of decoration for its own sake (in the shield of Achilles), the other decoration with terrible figures,⁴ intended to frighten the enemy.⁵

fore date the Homeric Age roughly between the years 1000 and 700 B.C. At the same time, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* doubtless reflect in many cases the customs of an earlier time than the Homeric Age, strictly so called, so that it is permissible to compare the products of the Mycenaean civilization with the words of Homer, as I have done in the case of the *δοῦρις ὀμφαλδέσσα*. Cf. Helbig, *Hom. Epos*², pp. 1 ff.

¹ The passages in which heroes are recognized by their shields probably refer to peculiarities of size or material; such is certainly the case in *Il.* 11, 526 f.

² *Il.* 11, 34–37. Götting (*Gesammelte Abh.* II, p. 119) maintains that the Gorgon cannot have been at the centre of Agamemnon’s shield, as that place was already occupied by the *ὀμφαλός*. But can we not conceive that the Gorgon was painted on the *ὀμφαλός*? Cf. Leaf’s *Iliad*, note on 11, 35. Furtwängler (*Bronzefunde v. Olympia*, p. 59; cf. his article *Gorgones* in Roscher’s *Lexicon*, I, p. 1702) holds that vss. 36, 37 are a later addition, and Christ brackets them. Even if these scholars are right, however, the lines must be a very early interpolation, for the artist of the chest of Cypselus represented Phobos on the shield of Agamemnon (cf. p. 74), and they probably fall, therefore, within our dates for the Homeric period. Cf. Helbig, *Hom. Epos*², pp. 388, 389.

³ *Il.* 18, 478–608. For references to the very considerable literature upon the shield of Achilles, see Buchholz, *Hom. Realien*, II, 1, p. 365, note 5; Ameis-Henze, *Anhang zu Homers Ilias*, Heft VI, pp. 148 ff.; Helbig, *Hom. Epos*², pp. 395–416; Brunn, *Kunstgesch.* I, pp. 73 ff.

⁴ Cf. the use of the adjectives *δεινοῖο* (5, 741) and *δεινὴ τε σμερδὴ τε* (5, 742); and the expression *δεινὸν δερκομένη* (11, 37).

⁵ I have not thought it necessary to discuss here the pseudo-Hesiodic shield of Heracles, as that is evidently a mere imitation of the Homeric shield of Achilles. For a similar reason, I have later omitted all discussion of the shield of Eurypylos,

When we look about among the monuments for parallels to these Homeric descriptions, we are led at once to the East. The poet himself, indeed, gives us many hints that the men of his time looked to the East for all that was best in art. So the breastplate of Menelaus is the gift of Cinyras, king of Cyprus;¹ the robe which Hecuba dedicates to Athena is the work of Sidonian women;² the crater which Achilles offers as a prize at the funeral games for Patroclus was 'in beauty far the best in all the earth, for cunning Sidonians made it';³ and other instances could be quoted.⁴ It need not surprise us, therefore, if we find in the East our closest parallels for the Homeric shields. As early as 1868, Brunn pointed out the numerous analogies between the sculptures of Nineveh, as revealed by Layard, and the scenes upon the Homeric shield of Achilles;⁵ and the excavation of Cyprus and Crete has proved conclusively that it was from the East, through Phoenicia, that the idea of decoration in concentric circles, the filling of the entire surface of a disc, was introduced into Greece. The proof of this is found in a number of votive shields of thin bronze which have been discovered in Cyprus and Crete.⁶ The Phoenician character of these

which is described at length by Quintus Smyrnaeus (*Posthom.* 6, 198 ff.). The differences in the three descriptions have been well brought out by Brunn, who notes that while Homer describes only scenes from daily life, the pseudo-Hesiod already shows the influence of contemporary art, in that he describes not only scenes from daily life, but mingles with them other subjects common to the art of his time, such as the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapiths; and the last writer departs entirely from daily life, and decorates his shield with the deeds of Heracles, one of the commonest subjects in Greek art of every period. Cf. Brunn, *Die Kunst bei Homer*, pp. 17-21; Sittl, *Hes. Schild d. Heracles* (*Jahrb.* 1887, pp. 182-192); Brunn, *Kunstgesch.* I, pp. 85-88.

¹ *Il.* 11, 19 ff.

² *Il.* 6, 286 ff.

³ *Il.* 23, 740 ff.

⁴ So the crater which the king of the Sidonians gave to Menelaus is spoken of as the work of Hephaestus himself (*Od.* 4, 615 ff., cf. 15, 115 ff.). Sidon itself is called *πολύχαλκος* (*Od.* 15, 425). In *Od.* 4, 125, the poet speaks of a basket of Egyptian workmanship.

⁵ Cf. Brunn, *Die Kunst bei Homer*, p. 12.

⁶ Cf. Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pl. 20 (reproduced by Perrot et Chipiez, III, fig. 639, p. 871); Halbherr and Orsi, *Mus. Ital.* II, pp. 689-910, atlas, pl. 1-9, especially Orsi's remarks, pp. 769-840; Körte, *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, pp. 110 ff., pl. 11, 1. The evidence of these shields is perhaps weakened by the fact that they were never meant for real use (as is evident from the thinness of the metal). Yet it seems probable that they conform to principles of decoration in use for actual shields.

shields is evident from the figures with which they are decorated (Melkart, Astarte-Anaitis), as well as from analogies to the bronze and silver paterae of which so many specimens, several bearing Phoenician inscriptions, have been found in Phoenicia itself, in Cyprus, and in Etruria.¹ Here we have exactly the same principle of decoration in circles of figures which underlies the Homeric description. It is to Cyprus, too, that we must go for our closest analogy in art to the shields of Athena and Agamemnon, with their groups of three or four figures. In the temple at Golgoi, Cesnola found a statue of Geryon, with three shields, one of which is decorated with three figures — Perseus slaying the Gorgon in the presence of Athena — and another with four — a warrior and three badly mutilated figures; the third shield contained a centaur and possibly other figures.²

For the Homeric Age, then, as for the Mycenaean period, we can establish the use of shield devices, and can distinguish the same two classes which we have previously noted in the Mycenaean time, i. e. emblems chosen with a decorative purpose, and "terrible" emblems intended to inspire fear in the enemy.³ Further than this, it seems clear that in the Homeric time the character of these devices was greatly influenced by the art of the East.

For the Mycenaean and Homeric periods, as has been seen, we have but a scanty basis of facts upon which to build. For the historical period, on the other hand, our difficulties are of another sort. So great is the mass of material here that we are in danger of losing ourselves entirely in the maze of facts which present themselves. Under these

¹ Cf. Dumont et Chaplain, *Céramiques de la Grèce Propre*, I, pp. 112 ff.; Perrot et Chipiez, III, pp. 758 ff., figs. 543, 544, 546-548, 552; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pp. 276 ff. The literature of these paterae is given by Orsi, *Mus. Ital.* II, p. 854, note 5.

² Cf. Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 156; *Cypriote Antiquities*, I, 2, No. 544, pl. 83; Perrot et Chipiez, III, fig. 388, p. 575. Two replicas of fragments of this group are published by Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 156; *Cypriote Antiquities*, I, 1, Nos. 389, 390, pl. 57.

³ Cf. Leaf (*J. H. S.* 1883, p. 291) who points out that in the Homeric period there seem to have been no personal or private devices. Ridgeway also points out the striking contrast between the heroes of the *Septem* and the *Phoenissae* and the Homeric chieftains "without a trace of heraldry," but his statement that we do not find a trace of the use of blazons in Homer is too sweeping (*The Early Age of Greece*, I, p. 323). He mentions the gorgoneion upon the shield of Agamemnon, but makes no comment upon it (*ibid.* p. 322).

circumstances, it has seemed to me best to pursue the following plan—first, to discuss briefly the statements of the authors which bear upon our subject, and, keeping always in mind the *purpose* for which the device was chosen, to attempt to discover the principles which regulated this choice; secondly, to collect the archaeological evidence in catalogue form; and thirdly, to apply to this archaeological evidence the principles discovered in the literary notices, and on the analogy of these principles, to attempt to discover new classes from the archaeological evidence itself.

Of our literary sources, we must distinguish at the outset three sorts—first, the descriptions of the poets, based probably upon the practice of their time, but not necessarily upon actual shields; secondly, descriptions of works of art, which labor under the same limitations as the descriptions of the poets; and thirdly, notices and descriptions of shields actually in use.

In the first category, we have first of all the descriptions of the emblems which Aeschylus assigns to the different heroes in the *Seven against Thebes*. These are the following: Tydeus (vv. 374 ff. Wecklein) has upon his shield, which is surrounded by a frieze of bells, a 'flaming heaven with moon and stars'; Capaneus (vv. 419 ff.) is given an unarmed torchbearer with the inscription in golden letters Πρήσω πόλιν; Eteoclus (vv. 452 ff.) has a hoplite mounting a ladder to the enemy's wall, and shouting that 'not even Ares could repel him from the towers'; Hippomedon (vv. 478 ff.) has Typhon;¹ Hyperbius (vv. 499 ff.), Zeus wielding the thunderbolt; Parthenopaeus (vv. 526 ff.), the sphinx with a man in her claws; Polynices (vv. 629 ff.), Justice bringing back Polynices himself.²

¹ We have here only a single device; the giants were usually represented with serpents in place of legs, as in the sculptures of the great altar at Pergamum. Cf. too the schol. τοὺς γηγερεῖς δρακοντὶ πόδας ἔγραψεν.

² Verrall, in his edition of the *Septem*, tries to make out that not only Hyperbius, but also the rest of the Theban leaders were provided with shield devices (cf. his notes on ll. 401, 402, 437, 459, 541, 610). He makes Melanippus' device Dike (cf. l. 402), perhaps carrying a sapling (cf. l. 400); to Polyphontes he gives an Artemis (cf. l. 437); to Megareus, Ares (cf. l. 456); to Actor, a hand and an eye (cf. l. 541); to Lasthenes, a foot and an eye (cf. l. 610). The theory is certainly very ingenious, but I do not think it is well enough established to warrant consideration in this paper.

In these devices, we approach closely to the practice of the sixth and fifth centuries, as revealed by the vase-painters. Many of the Aeschylean emblems can be paralleled in existing monuments.¹ Stars, for instance, are common shield devices in both the red and the black figured styles,² and the crescent moon is not unknown;³ with the torchbearer may be compared the human figures which are found upon shields on a number of red figured vases;⁴ inscriptions upon shields are well attested;⁵ the sphinx I have found several times used as a device;⁶ Typhon may perhaps be compared to the centaurs which appear so frequently upon shields.⁷ At the same time it is evident that the poet often introduces into his descriptions new elements intended to add to their brilliancy or to further the development of the plot. Thus the device of Polynices is intended to recall the quarrel of the brothers and the wrong doing of Eteocles; the inscription upon the shield of Eteocles is plainly meant to indicate the impious and reckless character of the man; the unadorned shield of Amphiaraus becomes his modesty and high purpose;⁸ the "night" upon the shield of Tydeus is made to symbolize the night of death which is to fall upon his eyes;⁹ the Zeus of Hyperbius will conquer the Typhon of Hippomedon.¹⁰ It was this departure from the common practice of the time, I imagine, which called forth the caustic comment of Aristophanes in the *Frogs*.¹¹

ἀλλ' ἢ Σκαμάνδρους ἢ Τάφρους ἢ 'π' ἀσπίδων ἐπόντας
γρυπαέτους χαλκηλάτους καὶ ῥήμαθ' ἱππόκρημνα.

¹ Cf. Schmidt, *De Clipeorum Insignibus quae in Aeschyli Septem contra Thebas et in Euripidis Phoenissis Describuntur*, Leipsic, 1870, pp. 5 ff. Huddilstone, *The Attitude of the Greek Tragedians toward Art*, London, 1898, pp. 22 ff.

² Cf. the Catalogue of devices found upon the monuments of the historic period (pp. 92 ff.), Nos. CCXLIV ff.

³ Cf. the Catalogue, Nos. LXXX-LXXXV.

⁴ Cf. the Catalogue, Nos. CLXXIV-CLXXXII. These figures seem to have been overlooked by Huddilstone (*l. c.* p. 24).

⁵ Cf. the Catalogue, Nos. CXLVII-CLXII. Cf. also the shield of Demosthenes, which bore the inscription ἀγαθὴ τύχη (Plut. *Dem.* 20).

⁶ Cf. the Catalogue, No. CCXXXVII.

⁷ Cf. the Catalogue, Nos. LXVII-LXX.

⁸ Cf. vv. 577 f.

⁹ Cf. vv. 387 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. v. 501.

¹¹ Ar. *Ran.* 928 f. Cf. schol. ἐπίσημα ἀσπίδος ἀλλόκοτα· εἰώθει γὰρ ζωγραφεῖν εἰς τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀερούς.

Under these circumstances, we must be circumspect in our use of the evidence of these Aeschylean descriptions. In no case can we be sure that the devices mentioned by the poet were in actual use, unless his evidence is corroborated by other and better authorities. For our present purpose, however, that is, for determining the principles which governed the choice of devices, these poetic descriptions are of great value; for it is inconceivable that the poet should have invented emblems which would seem impossible to his hearers. As a matter of fact, most of the devices of the *Septem* fit easily into the two classes which we have already established for the preceding age. The moon and the stars of Tydeus make up an emblem purely decorative. The torch-bearer, the hoplite, the Typhon, the sphinx, are essentially "terrible."¹ In the devices of Hippomedon and Polynices we may recognize, tentatively, at least, two new classes: (1) devices which are chosen with reference to the cult of a god; and (2) devices which have reference to the deeds or the fortunes of the bearer.

I have dwelt thus at length upon the Aeschylean descriptions, because they illustrate most completely the principles which we must apply to all our discussion of the descriptions of the poets. The passages in the *Phoenissae* in which Euripides discusses the devices of the heroes of the Theban cycle can be dismissed more summarily.

In the *Phoenissae*, the shields of the heroes are described as follows: Parthenopaeus (vv. 1106 ff.) bears as a device a picture of Atalante slaying the Calydonian boar; Hippomedon (vv. 1114 f.) has Argus; Tydeus (vv. 1120 f.), a lion;² Capaneus (vv. 1130 ff.), a giant who

¹ The bells upon the shield of Tydeus, also, were doubtless intended to add to the "terrible" aspect of the shield. Cf. Euripides' description of the bells upon the shield of Rhesus (Eur. *Rhes.* 383 ff.), as well as on the harness of his horses (*ibid.* 308), and Sophocles' expression, *σάκει κωδιωνοκρότῳ* (*frag.* 774). Four interesting military standards from southern Russia are adorned with two bells each (cf. *Rec. des Ant. de la Scythie*, p. 5, pl. 3 and 4). It may be that such bells were thought to possess some magic power; the use of bells to frighten evil spirits is well attested; cf. Lucian, *Philops.* 15; Tzet. *ad Lyc.* 77.

² So I interpret the lines:

Τυδεὺς λέοντος δέρος ἔχων ἐν ἀσπίδι
χαλτῆν πεφρυγὸς (1120 f.).

The lion is very commonly represented upon shields in the vases (cf. the Catalogue, Nos. CLXVI-CLXXXIII, and Huddilstone, *l. c.* p. 36). The following lines,

bears a city upon his back; Adrastus (vv. 1135 ff.), the Hydra, carrying off Theban children; while Polynices (vv. 1124 ff.) is given a wonderful automatic device, consisting of 'Potniad mares, whirled from within in some fine way so that they seem to be mad.'¹

Here again, as in the case of the descriptions of Aeschylus, we find much that reminds us of the devices which are found upon the vase paintings and other monuments, although here, as there, the poet has elaborated and added new elements, to make the devices contribute towards furthering the plot of his play.² Thus, while the boar is a very common device in the vase paintings,³ the group of Atalante and the boar is not found in this connection. Serpents, alone or in combination with other animals, are frequently found,⁴ but the Theban boys look like an addition of the poet's. Horses are among the most common emblems, and quite frequently they are represented as projecting from the shield,⁵ but the mechanical device by which they are made to move can hardly be anything but a poetic fiction.⁶

δεξιῷ δὲ λαμπάδα

Τιτάν Προμηθεὺς ἔφερον ὡς πρήσων πόλιν,

are taken by many as a description of a second device upon the shield of Tydeus, and it is argued that Euripides is imitating Aesch. *Sept.* 419. But although such a use of two devices on one shield is very common, Hermann's objection that if the Prometheus had been meant as a device, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ would have been written, not δεξιῷ δὲ, seems to me a valid one. The confusion is as old as the scholl. who remark: ὡπλιστο ἀσπίδα Τυδεὺς λέοντος δέρμα ἐπίσημον ἔχουσαν. ἐγγέγραπτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Προμηθεὺς λαμπάδα ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιῷ, ὁ εἰς τῶν Τιτάνων, ὡς πρήσων τὴν πόλιν. ἄλλως τὸ δὲ Τιτάν Προμηθεὺς οὕτως ἐξεδέξαντό τινες, ἀντὶ τοῦ δόρυ εἶχεν ὡς Τιτάν, ἀλλ' αὐτόχρημα Τιτάν Προμηθεὺς.

¹ Ποτνιαδες doubtless has here its proper sense "of Potniae," "Boeotian," but is meant to suggest the usual secondary meaning of the word, "mad." (So the schol. explains it by *μανικαί*.) This meaning arose, perhaps, from the story that Glaucus was torn to pieces by Ποτνιαδες ἵπποι (Strabo, 409. Cf. Virg. *Geor.* 3, 268). The town of Potniae contained a spring, the water of which was believed to drive mad the horses which drank it (Ael. *N. A.* 15, 25; Paus. 9, 8, 1). Cf. also Βάκχαι ποτνιαδες, Eur. *Bacch.* 664, and Hesych. s. v.

² It is a noteworthy fact that in this amplification Euripides appears to have been influenced more than Aeschylus by contemporary art. Cf. Schmidt, *l. c.* p. 12; Huddilstone, pp. 107 f.

³ Cf. the Catalogue, Nos. L-LV.

⁴ Cf. the Catalogue, Nos. CCXXV-CCXXIX.

⁵ Cf. the Catalogue, Nos. CXXXVI-CXLIV.

⁶ Schmidt (*l. c.* pp. 18 f.) maintains that line 1126,

εἰ πως στρόφιγξιν ἐνδοθεν κυκλοῦμεναι,

From the Euripidean descriptions, therefore, as from those of Aeschylus, we can gain but little knowledge of the devices actually in use at the time, but they may help us to a further knowledge of the principles concerned in the choice of such devices. At first sight, it looks as if all the Euripidean devices might be assigned to the class of "terrible" emblems, and to this class I should be inclined to assign them, if the poet himself did not give us a hint that he had, in one instance at least, another principle in mind. In describing the shield of Parthenopaeus, he says:

ὁ τῆς κυναγοῦ Παρθενοπαῖος ἔκγονος
ἐπίσημ' ἔχων οἰκεῖον ἐν μέσῳ σάκει
ἐκηβόλοις τόξοισιν Ἀταλάντην κάπρον
χειρουμένην Αἰτωλόν.¹

This can only mean that the device was *οἰκεῖον*, because Parthenopaeus was the son of Atalante, and it gives us a hint that the poet was familiar with devices chosen with reference to the family of the bearer. This class we may call gentile devices. Another hint is given by the scholiasts, whose testimony, although undoubtedly much later than the time of Euripides himself, may be based on earlier sources, and is not to be despised in any case. In a comment upon the emblem of Adrastus, we find the remark that it was as an Argive that he bore the hydra upon his shield;² and in another scholium, the Argus of Hippomedon is interpreted as an indication of his country.³ It is evident, therefore, that the writers of these scholia had either seen or heard of devices chosen with reference to the country of the bearer.

Of purely decorative devices, there seems to be but one example in the works of Euripides — the shield of Achilles, which is described at

is an interpolation. He therefore proposes to reject the verse, and to interpret *πύρραχ'* as = *ὀμφαλόν*. But *πύρραξ*, when used with reference to a shield, is always, so far as I can discover, equivalent to "handle;" cf. Soph. *Ai.* 576; Ar. *Eq.* 849, 858. Huddilstone's suggestion that "the horses could be imagined serving as a kind of border, the heads, of course, peeping out from the inside of the shield" (*l. c.* p. 104), does not seem to me probable.

¹ vv. 1106 ff.

² εἶχεν οὖν Ἀδραστος ὡς Ἀργεῖος ταύτην ἐπίσημον τῇ ἀσπίδι.

³ οἰκεῖον δὲ ὁ Ἴππομέδων σημείον εἶχεν ἐγγεγραμμένον· εἰς γὰρ τεκμήριον τῆς πατρίδος σημείον στικτὸν ἔφερε τῆς Ἀργείας βοῦς φύλακα.

length in the *Electra*.¹ This was decorated with figures of Hermes, Perseus, Helios and his horses, and the 'etherial choirs of the stars.' This is clearly a purely imaginary emblem, to be classed with the Homeric shield of Achilles, but interesting as revealing an underlying decorative principle.

The other examples of shield decoration which I have been able to discover in the works of the poets may be dismissed in a few words. Without exception they can be paralleled in the vase paintings and other monuments, and were undoubtedly drawn from devices actually in use. The Gorgon upon the shield of Athena is twice mentioned by Euripides,² and the same device is frequently referred to by Aristophanes.³ The eagle which Euripides places upon the shield of Telamon,⁴ and the serpent which Pindar mentions as the emblem of Alcmaeon⁵ are very common upon the vases and other monuments.⁶ The scholium upon the Pindar passage is interesting, as showing that the writer recognized a class of devices chosen with reference to family or descent.⁷

To sum up the results of our inquiry into the poetic descriptions of shields and shield devices: we have found in the poets examples of both the classes we have already established (purely decorative and "terrible" emblems), and we have been able to distinguish four new classes: (1) devices chosen with reference to the deeds or fortunes of the bearer; (2) devices chosen with reference to the cult of some god; (3) devices chosen with reference to the family of the bearer; (4) devices chosen with reference to the country of the bearer.

Closely allied to the poetic descriptions are the accounts which Pausanias and other writers give of a number of shields in works of art. These are often similar to the emblems in use upon actual shields, but

¹ Cf. *El.* 458-469.

² Cf. *Ion*, 209 ff. and *El.* 1254 ff.

³ Cf. *Ach.* 964 f., 1095, 1124, 1181; *Lys.* 560. For this very common device, cf. the Catalogue, Nos. CXIX-CXXV.

⁴ Cf. *Eur. Meleager*, fr. 534 (Nauck).

⁵ Cf. *Pind. Pyth.* 8, 65 ff.

⁶ Cf. for the eagle, the Catalogue, Nos. CIII-CVIII; for the serpent, Nos. CCXXV-CCXXIX.

⁷ *διὰ τὸ δὲ ὁ Ἀλκμαίων εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος δράκοντα; ὅτι ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς οἰωνοὺς τὸ ζῷον καὶ καταδύον ἐἰς τὰς ὁπὰς τῆς γῆς, μάντις δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀμφιάραος, καὶ κατέδυν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ γῆν· ὁ δὲ παῖς σημεῖον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἔσφρι τέχνης. ἡ καθὼς ἦν ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος· ἰστοροῦσι δὲ δύο δράκοντας διαλεῖν τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ Μελάμποδος καὶ διατρήσαι· διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ (lege ἐδόκει) αἰσθάνεσθαι τῆς τῶν ζῶων φωνῆς.*

appear to have been influenced more or less by artistic considerations. Foremost among them stands, of course, the shield of the Parthenos, with its battles of Greeks and Amazons on the outside, of gods and giants inside.¹ This decoration plainly sprang from the same desire to adorn all vacant spaces that caused the artist to carve upon the soles of the goddess' sandals the story of the Lapiths and the Centaurs, and we can no more use the one than the other decoration as an example of the actual practice of the contemporaries of Phidias. The other monuments of which we hear, however, are less influenced by artistic considerations. Thus the shield of Agamemnon upon the chest of Cypselus was decorated with a figure of Terror, with a lion's head, and upon it was the inscription :

οὗτος μὲν Φόβος ἐστὶ βροτῶν. ὁ δ' ἔχων Ἀγαμέμνων.²

This device we may assign to the class of terrible emblems. The Gorgon upon a golden shield which Pausanias saw upon the temple of Zeus at Olympia³ is especially interesting from the fact that several fragments of the marble block which supported the shield were found in the excavation of the site by the Germans.⁴

In some cases, Pausanias attempts to explain the designs which he found upon shields in works of art in various parts of Greece. These explanations, although often improbable and unsatisfactory for the case in hand, nevertheless contain valuable hints as to the principles which controlled the choice of devices. So of the shield of Menelaus in Polygnotus' picture of the capture of Troy in the Lesche at Delphi, he says : 'The serpent is wrought upon the shield on account of the monster that appeared at the sacrifice at Aulis.'⁵ In the bronze group of warriors drawing lots at Olympia, Idomeneus bore a shield upon which was a cock. 'Idomeneus,' says Pausanias, 'was descended from the Sun, the father of Pasiphae, and the cock is sacred to the Sun and announces the sunrise.'⁶ The serpent upon a shield over the tomb of

¹ Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 36, 18; Paus. 1, 17, 2.

² Cf. Paus. 5, 19, 4.

³ Cf. Paus. 5, 10, 4.

⁴ Cf. Olympia, *Ergebnisse*, V, No. 253; Purgold, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 179, No. 235; Roehl, *I. G. A.* p. 171, No. 26a; Roberts, *Gk. Epigraphy*, pp. 125, 126, No. 93.

⁵ Cf. Paus. 10, 26, 3.

⁶ Cf. Paus. 5, 25, 9.

Epaminondas is explained as 'intended to signify that Epaminondas was by descent of the race of the so-called Sparti.'¹ In every one of these instances, we may, perhaps, doubt the correctness of Pausanias' interpretation, but we cannot doubt that he was acquainted with devices chosen with reference to the deeds and fortunes of the bearer and devices chosen with reference to descent.

Finally, in a list of offerings from the Asclepieium at Athens, we have mention of three shields decorated respectively with a horseman, a hoplite, and (by a probable conjecture) Theseus with the Minotaur.² Of these, the Theseus with the Minotaur seems to me to show very clear traces of the influence of contemporary art, and I shall therefore reserve it for later discussion.³ But the horseman and the hoplite apparently introduce us to a new class of emblems, which we may call emblems chosen with reference to the position or rank of the bearer.⁴

We are now in a position to discuss the most interesting and most important part of our evidence, namely, notices of devices actually in use during the historical period of Greek civilization. Here, strangely enough, we find no mention of purely decorative emblems, and but few references to terrible emblems, for the mention of the gorgoneion in a scholium to Aristophanes⁵ and in the Anthology⁶ cannot be regarded as very sure or very weighty evidence. The only explanation which I can offer for this phenomenon is that such devices were so common as not to cause remark; the practice of the vase painters, who employ these classes of devices more commonly than any other, seems to me sufficient

¹ Cf. Paus. 8, 11, 8.

² *C.I.A.* II, 835, 68: . . . ἑτερ]αι ἀσ[π]ίδες τρεῖς ἐν αἷς ἐνι ἱππεὺς καὶ ὀπλίτης κα[ὶ] Θησεὺς? ἀντὶ τοῦ Μινωταύρου.

³ Cf. p. 90, note 3.

⁴ Both these devices are found upon the vases. Cf. the Catalogue, No. CXLV, and Nos. CLXXVIII, CLXXIX.

⁵ Cf. *schol. on Ach.* 1095: ἐξωγράφουν ἐν τῇ ἀσπίδι μεγάλην Γοργόνα.

⁶ Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 6, 126:

Σάμα τόδ' οὐχὶ μάταιον ἐπ' ἀσπίδι παῖς ὁ Πολύττου
 *ἄλλος ἀπὸ Κρήτας θούρος ἀνὴρ ἔθετο,
 Γοργόνα τὰν λιθοεργὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τριπλῶς γούνα
 γραψάμενος· δῆλοισι τοῦτο δ' εἶκε λέγειν·
 'Ἀσπίδος ὦ κατ' ἐμᾶς πάλλων δόρυ, μὴ κατὶδῃς με,
 καὶ φεύγε τρισσοῖς τὸν ταχὺν ἀνδρᾶ ποσὶν.

to prove that decorative and "terrible" emblems must have been in very common use.

Of the other classes which we have so far been able to distinguish, we find some very interesting examples. So the shield of Aristomenes, dedicated at the shrine of Trophonius at Lebadeia, was decorated with an eagle,¹ a device which occurs very frequently upon the monuments,² and is probably to be referred to the worship of Zeus. Herodotus tells a wonderful story of a certain Sophanes, an Athenian, who, according to one tradition, was said to have worn an anchor fastened to his breastplate by a chain; 'but the other tradition says that it was upon his shield . . . that he wore the anchor, and not an iron one bound to his breastplate.'³ The latter explanation certainly seems the more probable, especially as the anchor actually occurs upon shields in the vase paintings.⁴ The explanation of this device is difficult; it may have referred to the cult of Poseidon.⁵ Alcibiades had for a device none of the traditional emblems, but an Eros hurling the thunderbolt, so that 'honest citizens, when they beheld it, not only despised him and were ill-pleased, but feared his levity and lawlessness.'⁶ This device clearly refers to the cult of a god, and reminds us of the emblem of Hyperbius.⁷ 'A Lacedaemonian,' Plutarch tells us,⁸ 'had as a device a fly, and that, too, no bigger than life-size. And some mocked him and said, "He has done this to escape notice." But he said, "Rather to be noticeable; for I come so near the enemy that my emblem looks life-size to them."' Here we must recognize, I think, a new class of devices, which we may call devices chosen purely and simply according to the fancy or caprice of the bearer. Finally, we get a hint of still another class of emblems in the description of the shield of the son of Polyttus, to which reference has already been made.⁹ This shield was adorned not only with the gorgoneion, but also with the symbol commonly known as the triskele, that is, three bent legs joined together.¹⁰ This, if we

¹ Cf. Paus. 4, 16, 7.

² Cf. p. 73, note 6.

³ Cf. Herod. 9, 74.

⁴ Cf. the Catalogue, No. II.

⁵ Cf. p. 91.

⁶ Cf. Plut. *Alcib.* 16.

⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 68.

⁸ Cf. Plut. *Lac. Apoth.* p. 234 C.

⁹ Cf. p. 75, note 6.

¹⁰ The combination of the gorgoneion and the triskele is found on one vase. Cf. the Catalogue, No. CXIV.

may trust the feeling of the writer of the epigram, was intended to emphasize the speed of the bearer,¹ and suggests a class of devices chosen with reference to the nature or personal characteristics of the owner of the shield.²

All the devices that have been mentioned belong to what may be called the class of personal or individual emblems, that is, they are borne by individuals, and are chosen from purely personal motives. In the historical period, however, we have the first traces of a new and distinct type, which we may call national devices. These are devices intended to denote nationality, but borne, not by individuals, but by whole armies. Thus the Mantinaeans, we are told, bore the trident of Poseidon upon their shields;³ and Didymus says they did this because that god was especially honored by them.⁴ The Thebans had a club as a device,⁵ doubtless in honor of Heracles. Both these devices are found upon the vases,⁶ and when they occur upon the shields of individuals, they are doubtless to be classified as emblems chosen with reference to the cult of a god. Here, however, they clearly belong to the "national" type. We have the authority of a late Latin writer that the Thebans also bore a Sphinx upon their shields,⁷ although his evidence cannot be regarded as very trustworthy. Other tribes inscribed the first letters of their names upon their shields, the Sicyonians Ξ,⁸ the Lacēdaemonians Λ,⁹ the Messenians M.¹⁰ Of this custom there are some traces in the vase paintings,¹¹ so that this class may be regarded as very well established.¹²

¹ Cf. especially the line:

καὶ φεύγε τρισσοῦς τὸν ταχὺν ἄνδρα ποσίν.

² Some hints of this class we have already had in the interpretation which Aeschylus puts upon some of his devices. Cf. *supra*, p. 69.

³ Cf. Bacchyl. *frag.* 41 (Bergk) = *frag.* 2 (Kenyon).

⁴ Cf. *schol.* on Pind. *Ol.* 11 (10), 83.

⁵ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 7, 5, 20.

⁶ Cf. the Catalogue, Nos. LXXV, LXXVI, and No. CCLVI.

⁷ Cf. Lact. ad Stat. *Theb.* 7, 242.

⁸ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 4, 4, 10; Phot. *Bibl.* p. 532a, 18.

⁹ Cf. Phot. *s. v.* λάμβδα; Eustath. ad Hom. *Il.* 2, 581 (p. 293, 39 ff.).

¹⁰ Cf. Phot. *s. v.* λάμβδα; Paus. 4, 28, 5.

¹¹ Cf. the Catalogue, Nos. CXLVII-CLII.

¹² Mention should be made, perhaps, of a number of notices of shield decoration which are such evident inventions that it is useless to discuss them. Such are

To sum up the results of our study of the literary evidence of the historical period, we can distinguish, with a greater or less degree of certainty, the following classes of devices :

1. Devices purely decorative.
2. Devices intended to inspire fear in the enemy.
3. Devices chosen with reference to the cult of a god.
4. Devices intended to indicate country or nationality.
 - (a) Borne by individuals.
 - (b) Borne by whole armies.
5. Devices chosen with reference to family or descent.
6. Devices chosen with reference to the deeds or fortunes of the bearer.
7. Devices intended to indicate rank.
8. Devices chosen with reference to personal characteristics.
9. Devices chosen purely from individual fancy or caprice.

It remains to discuss the monumental evidence of the historical period, and to test the classification which we have established on the basis of the literary evidence by applying it to the devices actually found upon the monuments. For, if this classification is in any degree correct, we ought, on the one hand, to find examples of the different classes in the monuments, and on the other, these classes should serve as a useful guide in interpreting devices which are unknown from literary sources, and possibly in distinguishing new categories.

Apollod. 3, 6, 1, where the author explains the story of Polynices and Tydeus and the daughters of Adrastus by the theory that the two heroes bore upon their shields, one the protome of a boar, the other that of a lion; pseudo-Alcidamas, *Odysseus*, 9 (see Blass' *Antiphon*, p. 177; and cf. *Attische Beredsamkeit*, II³, p. 359) — a pretended indictment of Palamedes for treachery, in which Ulysses charges the defendant with placing a trident upon his shield to aid his accomplices inside the walls of Troy in recognizing him; schol. on Ar. *Lys.* 664 — the doubtful word *λυκώποδες* is explained as a reference to the use of a wolf as a shield device. Plutarch's story that Ulysses bore a dolphin as his device because a dolphin had once saved Telemachus from drowning (*De Soll. An.* 985 B) must be regarded as a similar invention, although it might conceivably be taken as evidence that Plutarch and his authorities were familiar with devices chosen with reference to the fortunes of the bearer. It is a noteworthy fact that all these devices are found upon the monuments; cf. the Catalogue, No. LII (fore part of boar); CLXVIII (fore part of lion); CCLVI (trident); CCLXII (wolf); XCVI (dolphin).

Before entering upon this part of the subject, however, some general remarks as to the character of the monumental evidence may not be out of place. A glance at the Catalogue of examples which I have appended to this paper¹ will show that by far the largest part of our evidence is found in vase-paintings. The question at once arises: How closely did the artists, and especially the vase-painters, follow the practice of their contemporaries in the decoration of shields? Did they simply copy devices which they found in actual use? Did they, like the poets, base their practice upon actually existent devices, but allow themselves certain liberties in elaborating those devices and even in inventing new forms upon the analogy of the types in common use? Did they follow no principle but novelty, and simply invent such emblems as would increase the beauty or the originality of their work? On the whole, I am inclined to believe that they followed very closely the practice of their time, and that the part to be assigned to invention is exceedingly small. This I believe for several reasons. (1) The general practice of the vase-painters, in matters of detail, is unquestionably to imitate very closely the manners and customs of their contemporaries; for all the minor details of the life of the Greeks, their dress, their furniture, their weapons, even their games and their daily pursuits, the vases form our most important and most trustworthy source. (2) Although the number of different devices which appear upon the monuments is unquestionably large, the variety is by no means so great as might be expected if the artists had followed no principle but the dictates of their own fancy. The constant recurrence of the commoner devices — the bull's head, the gorgoneion, the lion, the serpent, the tripod, can hardly be explained except upon the supposition that these devices were in constant and widespread use throughout the whole period of Greek civilization. (3) The fact that most of the devices mentioned by the writers of the historical period are found upon the monuments argues strongly for the close imitation of emblems actually in use.

If it is true, then, that the practice of the vase-painters and other artists is, taken generally and broadly, a reflection of the actual usage

¹ See pp. 92 ff. I have chosen to present the monumental evidence in catalogue form, partly for convenience of reference, partly because a list of all the devices presented by the monuments seemed to me of some interest in itself.

of their contemporaries, it becomes worth while to consider briefly the devices which occur upon the different styles of vases, and to trace, so far as it is possible, the development of fashion in regard to these emblems from the earlier to the later part of the historical period. An inquiry of this sort is beset with difficulties, for there is always danger of assigning to changes of custom differences which are due purely and simply to the development of the art of vase painting. So the fact that the earlier styles exhibit but few examples of decorated shields, and those of the simplest kind, may be due entirely to the fact that such vases are rarely decorated with human figures, and those so small that the representation of shield devices is practically impossible, as in the case of the geometric, the Argive, and the Corinthian styles, or that so few vases of the class are preserved, as in the case of the Chalcidian vases, or to both these causes, as in the case of vases from Rhodes and Melos. Yet, admitting all these possibilities, the differences in usage between the different styles are so great that I think it extremely probable that the development which can be traced in the vases represents a corresponding development in the practice of everyday life. Thus in the earliest class of vases upon which devices are represented, the geometric, we find only a few types, and these are all of the simplest description.¹ It is an interesting fact that these devices may all be assigned to the two classes of decorative and "terrible" emblems,² a confirmation, perhaps, of our contention that during the Homeric period only these two classes existed.³ The Rhodian and Melian vases exhibit only three very simple devices,⁴ but these vases are so few in number that no argument can be drawn from them. With the Argive style, we find a far greater variety, representing a number of different classes;⁵ and in the Corinthian vases, the number of different devices is still greater.⁶ The Chalcidian vases, which are extremely few in number,

¹ Bull's head (LX, 1, 2); crab (LXXIX, 1); three crosses (LXXXVII); polyp ornament (CCI, 1); wheel (CCLIX, 1).

² Cf. p. 84.

³ Cf. p. 67.

⁴ Eagle (CIII, 1, 2); gorgoneion (CXIX, 1); polyp pattern (CCI, 2).

⁵ Bird (XLI, 1); four birds and cross (XLVIII); bull's head (LX, 3); cock (LXXVII, 1); goat's head (CXVII, 1); griffin (CXXVI, 1); mule's head (CLXXXVIII); owl (CLXXXIX, 1); polyp pattern (CCI, 3); swan (CCLI, 1).

⁶ Bird (XLI, 2); fore part of bull (LIX, 1); bull's head (LX, 4, 5); cock (LXXVII, 2); cock and rosette (LXXVIII); crescent (LXXX, 1); eagle (CIII, 3); gorgoneion

present only five devices.¹ A long step in advance is marked by the black-figured Attic ware. In the vases of this style, we find the greatest variety, — in fact, this class exhibits more different devices than any other, more, even, than its successor, the Attic red-figured style. Yet even in the latter style there is a slight advance over its predecessor, inasmuch as the devices of the Attic red-figured vases are considerably more elaborate than those of the black-figured ware. Thus the bull, the centaur, and the mule appear exclusively, the horse, Silenus, and the detailed human figures² almost exclusively, upon vases of the red-figured style; while a number of devices which are common upon the black-figured vases, such as the ball, the dolphin, the bent leg, and the tripod, are distinctly neglected by the painters of the later style, apparently because they seemed too simple and unimposing to suit the taste of a later generation. Finally, in the Italian vases, with their sketchy and hasty work, we find that devices are not ordinarily represented upon shields, and those that do occur are for the most part of an exceedingly simple character.³

How closely the changes which we can trace in the vase paintings reflect differences of fashion in actual life it is impossible to say. The existence of such changes, however, makes it extremely probable that there was, during the historical period, a development first from simple to more complex forms, which reached its culmination during the flourishing period of the Attic red-figured style, the fifth century, followed by a gradual return to simpler forms in the later centuries of decline and weakness.

(CXIX, 3-5); fore part of lion (CLXVIII, 1); man (CLXXV, CLXXVI); polyp pattern (CCI, 4, 5); wave pattern (CCII, 1); rosette (CCXIX, 1-4); serpent (CCXXV, 1); swan (CCLI, 2); swastica (CCLIII, 1); tripod (CCLVII, 1).

¹ Fore part of boar (LII, 3); eagle (CIII, 4-8); fore part of goat (CXVI, 1); polyp pattern (CCI, 6); star (CCXLIV, 1, 2).

² Cf. Nos. CLXXVII-CLXXXI.

³ The list of devices found upon vases of Italian style is as follows: fore part of boar (LII, 5); bow and club (LVI); club (LXXV, 4); dog (XCIII, 5); gorgoneion (CXIX, 21-28); gorgoneion and rays (CXI); gorgoneion and laurel wreath (CXII); griffin (CXVIII, 3); palm-leaf pattern (CC, 4, 5); wave pattern (CCII, 2); rosette (CCXIX, 12-14); serpent (CCXXV, 21-23); star (CCXLIV, 18-25); star in two circles (CCXLVI); wheel (CCLIX, 6-9); serpent and two stars (CCXXVII); laurel wreath (CCLXVIII, 4).

A more important question for our present inquiry is the problem how far the artists endeavored to paint upon their shields emblems appropriate to the characters who bear them. For it is evident that if we could prove that the artists always tried to assign to the different gods and heroes who figure upon the vase-paintings and other monuments devices in some way appropriate to them, our task of determining the classes into which such devices fall would be very much lightened. Unfortunately, no such general principle can be laid down; in fact, it is only rarely that the artist appears to have been influenced in his choice by the character to whom the device is assigned. To take the most striking example, of the sixty-two devices which are given to Athena,¹ only two, the gorgoneion and the owl, can be said to be especially appropriate to the goddess. The eagle and the thunderbolt, to be sure, might be explained as a reference to Athena's descent from Zeus, but the fifty-eight other devices for which no reasonable connection with the goddess can be found, should make us circumspect. With the heroes, the results are no better. The shield of Achilles is adorned with a great number of devices, none of which, with the possible exception of the gorgoneion, the symbol of his patroness, Athena,

¹ Anchor (II, 1); ball (III, 2); two balls (XIV, 1); two balls and panther's head (XIX); three balls (XXVIII, 1); five balls (XXXVI); six balls (XXXVII, 1); bird (XLI, 3); winged boar's head with fish in jaws (LV); fore part of bull (LIX, 2); bull's head (LX, 6); cantharus (LXV, 1); chariot box (LXXII, 1); club (LXXV, 1); cock (LXXVII, 3); dolphin (XCVI, 1); two dolphins (XCIX, 1); eagle (CIII, 9, 13); fawn (CX, 1); fore part of goat (CXVI, 4); goat's head (CXVII, 2); gorgoneion (CXIX, 6-8, 15-17, 21, 30, 33, 37, 39); gorgoneion and triskele (CXXIII); griffin (CXXVI, 2); horn (CXXXV, 1); horse (CXXXVI, 2); winged horse (CXXXIX, 1, 2); hind part of horse (CXLII, 1); inscription and wheel (CLXI); leaf (CLXIV, 1); bent leg (CLXV, 1); lion (CLXVI, 1, 9); fore part of lion (CLXVIII, 2); lion attacking stag (CLXXI, 1); man's head (CLXXXIII, 5); two men (Harmodius and Aristogiton group) (CLXXXVI); owl (CLXXXIX, 2); panther (CXC, 1); panther's head (CXCIV, 1); palm-leaf pattern (CC, 1); polyp pattern (CCI, 7); wave pattern (CCII, 2); prow of ship (CCVIII, 1); three rings (CCXVII, 1); rosette (CCXIX, 5, 11); rosette and thunderbolt (CCXXI, 1); serpent (CCXXV, 3, 12; CCXXVI, 1); serpent and two stars (CCXXVII); Silenus (CCXXX, 1); Silenus head (CCXXXII); siren (CCXXXV, 1); stag (CCXXXIX, 1); star (CCXLIV, 3, 18); star in circle (CCXLV); three swans (CCLII); swastica (CCLIII, 2); tripod (CCLVII, 2); triskele (CCLVIII, 1, 2); wolf (CCLXII); wolf's head (CCLXIV); ivy wreath (CCLXVI, 1, 16); laurel wreath (CCLXVIII, 1).

seems especially appropriate;¹ and the same is true of all the other heroes who are most commonly depicted on the vases and elsewhere. Moreover, practically every device which is given to a god or a hero is also found upon the shields of warriors of the ordinary type.

We must conclude, therefore, that although the artists, both vase-painters and others, imitated closely the devices actually in use among their contemporaries, they used these devices, for the most part, simply as a decorative system.² Yet, even under these circumstances, the attempt to establish some sort of a classification need not necessarily be given up. If we disregard the characters to whom emblems are assigned upon the vases and other monuments, and consider the devices simply as types which were in common use in Greece during the seventh and later centuries, we may still arrive at fairly definite results. Many of the devices fall easily into the categories which we have deduced from the literary evidence, and in a few cases, the monuments themselves give us hints as to the principles which led to the choice of a particular device. I am aware that I am here dangerously near the line where reasoning ends and conjecture begins, and from my own doubts in many instances, I know that many will disagree with my conclusions in particular cases. Yet the attempt to bring some order into the mass of material furnished by the monuments is an interesting one, and I hope it may stimulate further investigation. I shall take up in order the classes mentioned above.³

¹ The list, excluding some doubtful cases, is as follows: ball (III, 6); two balls and gorgoneion (XVII); four balls and rosette (XXXIII, 1); boar (I, 2); bull's head (IX, 13); centaur (LXVII, 3); crescent and two rings (LXXXI); cuttle fish (XC, 5); two dolphins (XCIX, 3); eagle (CIII, 15); eagle with serpent in claws and four stars (CVI); gorgoneion (CXIX, 3, 11, 18, 22, 38); horse (CXXXVI, 3); winged horse (CXXXIX, 3); horseman (CXLV, 2); monogram AX (CLIII); inscription and panther (CLV); lion (CLXVI, 11); man with trumpet (CLXXXI, 1); female panther (CXCI); panther and serpent and Silenus head (CXCI); two female panthers (CXCVIII); ring (CCXIV, 2); rosette (CCXIX, 7); scorpion (CCXXIV, 4); serpent (CCXXV, 8; CCXXVI, 3); sphinx (CCXXXVII, 5); star (CCXLIV, 13); tripod (CCLVII, 7, 8); woman with fillet (CCLXV); ivy wreath (CCLXVI, 6).

² In using the devices at their command, the artists aimed especially at variety. Striking instances of this tendency are the Argive lekythos in the British Museum (publ. *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 167, pl. 1 and 2) and the black-figured amphora by Amasis in Paris (publ. De Luynes, *Vases*, pl. 1). Each of these vases is decorated with a procession of warriors, no one of whom has a device like any of the rest.

³ Cf. p. 78.

1. Devices purely decorative.¹ Devices of this class are numerous and easily recognized. Such are the balls, or pellets, which are so common upon black-figured vases, the cross, the flower, the various patterns (palm-leaf, polyp, and wave ornaments), the pentagram, quadrangle, ring, rosette, stripe, and star. To this class, also, I am inclined to assign the two examples of the swastica, which are really little more than crosses with the arms prolonged and curved, the device which I have called a wheel (often only a circle with two diameters crossing at right angles, although sometimes more elaborate), the schematic bull's head, and the so-called ladder (a line ornament not unlike the Roman numeral III).

2. Devices intended to inspire fear in the enemy are much more difficult to distinguish. The most certain types seem to me to be the figures of monsters, such as the centaur, the siren, and the sphinx. To these should probably be added the gorgoneion, the griffin, the winged boar, the winged horse, and the winged lion, although I suspect that these emblems in many cases might be regarded as having reference to the cult of a god.² Further than this, the animals which are represented as preying upon weaker animals, the birds and the eagles with serpents in their claws, the boar with a fish in its mouth, the lion attacking a stag, reveal an underlying "terrible" motive. Here, too, I should place the crab and the scorpion. In the case of some other animals there is much room for doubt. In general, it seems clear that most of the figures of animals are used as symbols of divinities, but in a few instances they are so commonly depicted with wide open jaws and manes erect that they seem more properly to belong to the class of devices intended to inspire terror. Such are especially the serpent, the

¹ From this point, I shall refer to the Catalogue by number only in the case of single vases or where there is danger of confusion. In most cases the devices referred to can easily be found, as the Catalogue is arranged alphabetically.

² The gorgoneion often seems to be used with reference to Athena, and is especially frequent upon the shield of the goddess; cf. CXIX, 6-8, 15-17, 21, 30, 33, 34, 37, 39; CXXIII. The griffin is associated with Apollo (cf. Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* pl. XXII, 9, 10, 14, 16-18, 23, 27, 41), with Dionysus (cf. Head, *Hist. Nummorum*, p. 219), and with other gods (cf. Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1864, pp. 50-141). The winged horse (Pegasus) is associated with Poseidon (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 278 ff.), and with Athena (cf. Paus. 2, 4, 1; Pind. *Ol.* 13, 82). Cf. Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1864, pp. 29 ff.

lion, and the boar. Finally, the human eye, which occasionally appears upon shields, is best taken, I think, as a device of the "terrible" class.¹

3. Devices chosen with reference to the cult of a god. These are very numerous, and include the bow, as symbol of Apollo or Artemis;² the club, of Heracles;³ head of wheat (on a coin), of Demeter;⁴ panther, of Dionysus;⁵ thunderbolt, of Zeus;⁶ Silenus, of Dionysus;⁷ trident, of Poseidon;⁸ tripod, of Apollo.⁹ Here, too, probably belong the winged phalli and two of the human figures.¹⁰ Of the animals which appear upon shields, it is noticeable that by far the larger part are such as were commonly associated with one or another of the gods. This leads me to believe that practically all the animals are to be assigned to this class of devices. The most striking examples are the eagle of Zeus;¹¹ the owl of Athena;¹² the horse of Poseidon;¹³ the ram of Hermes;¹⁴ the

¹ Cf. the use of similar emblems on the prows of ships (Aesch. *Supp.* 724 (Wecklein); Ar. *Ach.* 95; Philost. *Im.* I, 18), although there they probably served also as hawse-holes (cf. Torr. *Ancient Ships*, p. 69, and figs. 12, 13, 15, 19, 23, 40).

² Cf. for Apollo, *Hym. Hom.* I, 1 ff.; Pind. *Ol.* 6, 59; *Él. Cér.* II, pl. 27; for Artemis, *Hom. Il.* 21, 483; Ar. *Thesm.* 970; Gerhard, *A. V.* I, pl. 4; *Él. Cér.* II, pl. 10-12, 17, 18, 24, 25; Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* pl. XX, 8, 10, 14, 19.

³ Cf. p. 77; Gerhard, *A. V.* II, pl. 93, 94, 98, 101, 102, 104, 108.

⁴ Cf. Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* pl. XV, *passim*; coins of Metapontum (Head, *Hist. Nummorum*, pp. 62 ff.).

⁵ Cf. Philost. *Im.* I, 19, 4; Oppian, *Cyneg.* 3, 78 ff., 4, 230 ff.; Gerhard, *A. V.* I, pl. 36; II, pl. 113; *Mus. Borb.* VIII, pl. 27.

⁶ Cf. *C.I.G.* 1513, 2; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 49, 2; *Él. Cér.* I, pl. 3, 13, 22; Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* pl. I, *passim*.

⁷ Cf. Gerhard, *A. V.* I, pl. 32, 41.

⁸ Cf. *Hom. Il.* 12, 27; *Od.* 5, 292; *Él. Cér.* III, pl. 1-29, *passim*.

⁹ Cf. Wieseler, *Ueber d. Delphischen Dreifuss*, *Abh. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.* XV (1870), p. 221; *Él. Cér.* II, pl. 6; Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* pl. XX, 16; pl. XXII, 7, 8, 40.

¹⁰ Cf. Nos. CCV-CCVII, and Nos. CLXXV, CLXXVI. The phallus was closely connected with the worship of Dionysus; cf. *Διόνυσον Φαλλήνα*, Paus. 10, 19, 3; Ar. *Ach.* 241 ff.; Plut. *De Cup. Div.* 8, p. 527 D.

¹¹ Cf. *Hom. Il.* 24, 310 ff.; Aesch. *Prom.* 1054 (Wecklein); Pind. *Pyth.* I, 6; Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* pl. I, 16, 39, 40, 43, 50; Head, *Hist. Nummorum*, pp. 353 ff.

¹² Cf. Ar. *Eq.* 1092 f.; *Av.* 516; Gerhard, *A. V.* I, pl. 6; *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Coins*, XI, pl. 1-13 (coins of Athens).

¹³ Cf. *Hym. Hom.* 22, 5; Stesich. *frag.* 49 (Bergk); Aesch. *Septem.* 122; Ar. *Eq.* 551.

¹⁴ Paus. 9, 22, 1; Frazer, *Paus.* V, pp. 87 ff.

mule of Dionysus;¹ the wolf of Apollo;² the dove and the tortoise of Aphrodite.³ The relations of other animals to the gods are less clear, but sufficient to justify their mention here. The goat is associated with Dionysus and Aphrodite, sometimes with Artemis and Hera;⁴ the stag and the fawn with Apollo and with Artemis;⁵ the swan with Apollo and Aphrodite.⁶ The crow is assigned to Apollo and to Athena;⁷ the hare to Dionysus, to Aphrodite, and to Artemis.⁸ The dolphin is associated with Apollo, with Poseidon, and with Aphrodite;⁹ the bull with Dionysus, with Poseidon, and with Artemis;¹⁰ the dog with Ares, with Artemis,

¹ Cf. *Él. Cér.* I, pl. 43, 46, 46a, 47, 47a, 49, 49a.

² Cf. Frazer, *Paus.* II, pp. 195 ff.

³ Cf. for the dove, Aelian, *N. A.* 4, 2; Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*⁶, pp. 277 ff.; Gerhard, *Trinkschalen u. Gefässe*, pl. 11, 12; for the tortoise, Paus. 6, 25, 1; Plut. *Praec. coniug.* 32, p. 142 D; Gerhard, *Abhandlungen*, pl. 29, 3; Bernouilli, *Aphrodite*, p. 150, note 2; Head, *Hist. Nummorum*, p. 331.

⁴ Cf. for Dionysus, Hesych. *ἐπὶ φ(ι)ος δ Διόνυσος*; Steph. Byz. s. v. 'Ακρόρεια; and especially, Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1869, pp. 57 ff.; for Aphrodite, Paus. 6, 25, 1; Frazer, *Paus.* IV, pp. 105 ff.; for Artemis, *Mon.* I, pl. 14a; Welcker, *Ant. Denk.* II, p. 67, pl. 3, 5; for Hera, Paus. 3, 15, 9; Frazer, *Paus.* III, p. 338.

⁵ Cf. for Apollo, Paus. 10, 13, 5; Strab. 14, p. 683; Gerhard, *A. V.* I, pl. 26, 27, 33, 39; *Él. Cér.* II, pl. 3, 6a, 31, 38a; Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* pl. XIX, 11, 15, 24, 27; pl. XX, 15, 17; for Artemis, Hom. *Od.* 6, 104; Paus. 6, 22, 11; Frazer, *Paus.* IV, p. 101; Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1868, pp. 7-30; Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* pl. XX, 8, 10, 14.

⁶ Cf. for Apollo, Ar. *Av.* 870; Callim. *Hym.* 2, 5; Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1863, pp. 28 ff.; Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* pl. XXII, 5, 6; for Aphrodite, Jahn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1858, pp. 233 ff.; Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1863, pp. 62 ff.; 1864, p. 203; Kalkmann, *Jahrb.* 1886, pp. 231 ff., pl. 11.

⁷ Cf. Frazer, *Paus.* III, p. 72.

⁸ Cf. for Dionysus, Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1862, pp. 62 ff.; for Aphrodite, *ibid.* pp. 65 ff.; for Artemis, *ibid.* pp. 71 ff.

⁹ Cf. for Apollo, *Mon.* I, pl. 46 = *Él. Cér.* II, pl. 6; Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.* pp. 257 ff.; for Poseidon, Paus. 10, 36, 8; Gerhard, *A. V.* I, pl. 7; *Él. Cér.* III, pl. 7, 8, 14; Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* pl. XI, 16, 26; pl. XII, *passim*; for Aphrodite, Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1864, pp. 218 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. for Dionysus, Roscher, *Lex. d. Myth.* I, pp. 1057 ff.; for Poseidon, Hes. *Scut. Herc.* 104, ταύρεος ἐννοσίγαιος; Hesych. s. v. ταύρα and ταῦρος; Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.* p. 570, note 4; Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* pl. XI, 26; for Artemis, Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1866, pp. 102 f.; 1876, p. 219. The epithet ταυροπόδος is noteworthy (cf. Eur. *I. T.* 1457; Ar. *Lys.* 447; *C.I.G.* 2699).

with Apollo, and with Aesculapius.¹ The cock is, perhaps, a symbol of Aesculapius, but this is very doubtful.² For a few other animals I can find no certain parallels, but the fact that so many animals can be associated with gods leads me to place them here. These are the beetle, the cuttle-fish, the quail, and the stork, as well as the devices which can only be described generically as a bird and a fish. The numerous instances in which only a part of an animal is represented, the head, the fore part, or the hind quarters, perhaps even the hoof,³ are to be taken as the artists' short-hand method for representing the whole animal.⁴

4. Devices intended to indicate country or nationality. In this class of devices the evidence of the literature is strikingly confirmed by the Attic vases, which have both A and AΘE,⁵ as well as M and X inscribed upon shields.⁶ Upon coins of Chalcis, moreover, we find the sign Y (the symbol used for the sound of ch in the Chalcidian alphabet), but the fact that this appears upon a coin robs this example of much of its significance.⁷ Of the other inscriptions which appear upon shields, the greater part belong to the familiar types of καλός inscriptions and meaningless combinations of letters,⁸ and are due to the vase-painters rather than to any usage in actual life. In a few cases the artist has chosen the shield as a convenient place for the name of one of his characters,⁹ and on a coin of Larisa (Cremaste?) the die-cutter has placed the monogram A X upon a shield which Thetis carries.¹⁰ The monogram Π Y P is common upon coins of Pyrrhus, and has no especial significance when placed upon a shield.¹¹ The E upon the shield of Taras on a Tarentine coin is probably a magistrate's initial.¹²

¹ Cf. for Ares, Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.* pp. 341, 344; *Ann.* 1874, pl. R; for Artemis, Eur. *frag.* 959 (Nauck); Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* 71, p. 379 D; Hesych. s. v. ἀγάλμα Ἐκάρτης and Ἐκάρτης ἀγάλμα; Schoene, *Gr. Reliefs*, pl. 26, No. 108; for Apollo, Hesych. s. v. κών(ε)ως; Suid. s. v. κόννεως; *C.I.G.* 1102; for Aesculapius, Frazer, *Paus.* III, p. 250.

² Cf. p. 74.

³ Cf. No. CXXXIV.

⁴ The origin of these associations of gods with animals is possibly to be found in primitive animal worship. Cf. Cook, *Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age*, *J. H. S.* 1894, pp. 81 ff.

⁵ Cf. Nos. XXVI, CXLVII, CLII.

⁶ Cf. Nos. CLVII-CLXII.

¹¹ Cf. No. CLVI.

⁸ Cf. Nos. XVIII, CXLIX, CL.

⁹ Cf. Nos. CLIV, CLV.

¹² Cf. No. CXLVIII.

⁷ Cf. No. CLI.

¹⁰ Cf. No. CLIII.

5. Of devices chosen with reference to family or descent, I can find no satisfactory examples in the monuments. Indeed, after what has been said of the habits of the artists, it is evident that any apparent examples of this class must always be open to serious doubt. I have already spoken of the use of the eagle and the thunderbolt upon the shield of Athena, and pointed out that these might conceivably refer to the descent of the goddess from Zeus.¹ The dolphins upon the shield of Achilles² may be intended as a reference to Thetis, but such collocations are probably due to chance.

6. The same uncertainty is inevitable in the few cases in which the artist appears to have chosen a device with reference to the deeds or fortunes of the bearer of the shield. A possible example of this class is the Centaur upon the shield of Caeneus,³ and it is a noticeable fact that the giants occasionally bear devices appropriate to the divinities with whom they contend. So Enceladus, in one instance, has the gorgoneion,⁴ a device which may refer to his defeat at the hands of Athena, and Ephialtes, the opponent of Poseidon, sometimes bears a horse upon his shield.⁵ But after all, little weight can be attached to evidence of this sort.

7. Devices chosen to indicate rank. Here I am inclined to place the armed human figures⁶ and the horseman,⁷ possibly also the trumpeter, a device which appears on three vases,⁸ although it is remarkable that in two of the three instances the figure is represented as a negro of the most pronounced type. It is possible, also, that the bit, which appears upon a single vase, has some reference to the equestrian rank of the bearer of the shield.⁹

8. Devices chosen with reference to personal characteristics. To this class I assign the triskele¹⁰ and the bent leg,¹¹ which is clearly only a simpler form of triskele.¹² The figure of an athlete with *halteres* in his hands¹³ is perhaps chosen with reference to the gymnastic skill of

¹ Cf. p. 82.

⁴ Cf. No. CXXI.

⁷ Cf. No. CXLV.

² Cf. No. XCIX, 3.

⁵ Cf. No. CXXXVII.

⁸ Cf. No. CLXXXI.

³ Cf. No. LXVII, 1.

⁶ Cf. Nos. CLXXVIII, CLXXIX.

⁹ Cf. No. XLIX. For this device, as well as for the proposed interpretation, I am indebted to Professor Marquand.

¹⁰ Cf. No. CCLVIII.

¹¹ Cf. No. CLXV.

¹² Cf. pp. 76, 77.

¹³ Cf. No. CLXXX.

the bearer of the shield, who is represented as arming for the heavy armed race. The nude man¹ may be intended to emphasize the swiftness of the bearer of the shield. There can be little doubt, too, that some of the emblems which I have assigned to the class of "terrible" devices were occasionally interpreted as emphasizing the fierceness of their bearers,² while the animals may have been thought of in some cases as referring to other qualities, i. e. the eagle and the bird to swiftness, the cock and the quail to bravery.

Before taking up the last of the classes which we discovered in the literary evidence, devices chosen purely and simply from individual fancy or caprice, something should be said of a number of cases where the monuments seem to hint at other principles of choice than those already laid down. Foremost among these stand the large number of devices in which a number of elements are combined upon a single shield. In many cases these composite devices are made up of elements of the same sort, and present no difficulty. So we often find two or more decorative elements, as in the numerous combinations of balls or pellets with crescents and rings,³ of rings with crescents and rosettes.⁴ The gorgoneion is combined with a serpent and a lion, producing a device of the "terrible" class.⁵ The bow and the club combine in a device which still refers to the cult of the gods.⁶ Often, however, the elements are of different kinds, decorative forms especially entering into combination with other classes. So we find a rosette and two serpents,⁷ and on another shield two balls, the gorgoneion and two serpents.⁸ The gorgoneion joined with four panthers and two rosettes gives us a device which contains decorative and terrible elements, together with emblems which refer to the cult of a god.⁹ It is noticeable that such complex devices are much more commonly employed in the decoration of Boeotian shields than upon the round Argolic buckler. This trait is doubtless copied from life, for the Boeotian shield, with its two lobes, naturally lends itself to this sort of ornamenta-

¹ Cf. No. CLXXIV.

² Cf. p. 77, note 2, and p. 69.

³ Cf. Nos. v, x, xv, xvi, xx, xxxi.

⁴ Cf. Nos. lxxxI, lxxxII, ccxv.

⁵ Cf. No. cxxiv.

⁶ Cf. No. lvi.

⁷ Cf. No. ccxx.

⁸ Cf. No. xxvii.

⁹ Cf. No. ccxv.

tion. To judge from the frequency with which these composite designs occur upon the monuments, they must have been extremely common.

An interesting problem is presented by three devices which are plainly reproductions of larger works of art. The most familiar of these is the Harmodius and Aristogiton group upon the shield of Athena on the well-known Panathenaic amphora.¹ A shield upon a silver vase in Munich is decorated with a battle scene, in the midst of which is a warrior carrying a dead comrade, a subject which recalls a number of statues of Menelaus and Patroclus;² while the representation of a Centaur teaching a boy to play the flute, upon a shield in a Pompeian wall-painting, closely resembles another Pompeian picture, which itself was probably copied from a piece of sculpture.³ Whether this copying of works of larger art represents a common practice in the decoration of actual shields it is impossible to say. The fact that the examples are so few makes it possible that we have here an innovation of the artist, rather than a custom of the armorer. One may perhaps be permitted to add this class of devices to the other categories, designating it as a doubtful type.

Another interesting device is the swan (κύκνος) upon the shield of Cycnus on a red-figured vase.⁴ The use of such a *type parlant* is essentially Greek; in fact, it tallies exactly with the use of such emblems upon coins.⁵ I am inclined to believe, therefore, that we have here an echo of a common practice in the ornamentation of shields. But since the evidence for this type is so scanty, I have marked this also as a doubtful category.⁶

¹ Cf. No. CLXXXVI; and for the group by Critias and Nesiotes of which this device is a copy, Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, I, p. 370, fig. 189.

² Cf. No. CLXXXII; Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 346; Helbig, *Führer*, I², No. 246; Amelung, *Führer durch die Ant. in Florenz*, Nos. 5 and 187.

³ Cf. No. LXX; *Mus. Borb.* I, pl. 7; Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1862, pp. 97 ff. The Theseus with the Minotaur of the Attic inscription (cf. p. 75) is probably another illustration of the practice of copying larger works of art for shield decorations.

⁴ Cf. No. CCLI, 4.

⁵ Cf. the rose (ῥόδον) upon coins of Rhodes (Head, *Hist. Nummorum*, p. 539), the anchor (ἄγκυρα) of Ancyra (*ibid.* p. 557), the apple (μήλον) of Melos (*ibid.* p. 414), and the sling (σφενδόνη) of Aspendus (*ibid.* p. 592).

⁶ Cf. p. 92.

There remain a number of devices for which I can offer no satisfactory explanation, and which I am, therefore, compelled to place in the category of devices chosen from fancy or caprice. Some of these emblems are undoubtedly innovations of the vase-painters, noteworthy examples being five devices which reproduce the forms of vases, amphora, cantharus, cylix, hydria and pitcher. The amphora, to be sure, may have been thought of as a symbol of Athena—it frequently appears upon coins of Athens,¹ while the cantharus might conceivably be associated with Dionysus.² But these explanations are not at all convincing. Other emblems are the helmet, spear-head (on a coin), chariot-box, chariot wheels and axle,—all possibly innovations of the artist, due to the fact that all these objects, like the shield, were used in war; the wine-skin, the (drinking?)-horn, and the fig-leaf, possibly connected with the cult of Dionysus; the anchor (as symbol of Poseidon?), prow of a ship (to indicate the rank of the bearer as an ἐπιβάτης?); the human hand, woman with a fillet, cap, rake, chair, and the fox with a bunch of grapes—all these I reluctantly assign to the class of emblems chosen purely from individual fancy or caprice.

Briefly stated, then, the history of the use of shield devices among the Greeks is as follows: Devices are found in the earliest monuments, the Mycenaean, and even in these prehistoric examples, we can distinguish two classes of emblems—(1) those which were intended simply for ornament, and (2) those which were intended to make the shield more terrible in appearance. These two kinds of devices continued in use during the Homeric period (circa 1000–700 B.C.), and, so far as we can judge from the monuments, were still the most common types during the earlier part of the historic time (from 700 on). Later, however, many new types came into use, and in the literary and monumental remains of the historic period, we can distinguish ten, and possibly twelve classes, as follows:

1. Devices purely decorative.
2. Devices intended to inspire fear in the enemy.
3. Devices chosen with reference to the cult of a god.

¹ Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Coins*, XI, pl. 8–14.

² Cf. Gerhard, *A. V.* I, pl. 35, 37, 39, 41, 47, 54.

4. Devices intended to indicate country or nationality.
 - (a) Devices carried by individuals.
 - (b) Devices carried by whole armies.
5. Devices chosen with reference to family or descent.
6. Devices chosen with reference to the deeds or fortunes of the bearer.
7. Devices intended to indicate rank.
8. Devices chosen with reference to personal characteristics.
9. Devices which are copies of works of art (?).
10. Devices symbolic of the bearer's name (?).
11. Devices composed of a number of different elements.
12. Devices chosen purely from individual fancy or caprice.

CATALOGUE OF DEVICES FOUND UPON MONUMENTS OF THE HISTORIC PERIOD

NOTE.—The arrangement of this catalogue requires some explanation. The devices are arranged alphabetically and numbered with Roman numerals. Under each device are noted typical examples, with Arabic numbers. Since by far the largest part of our evidence is found in vase-paintings, I have in every case placed the examples found upon vases first, and arranged them, with the exception of one or two unusual types, in chronological order. The abbreviations used are as follows: *Geom.* geometric; *Rhod.* Rhodian; *Mel.* Melian; *Arg.* Argive (since the excavation of the Heraeum this designation of the class formerly known as proto-Corinthian seems justified; cf. Hoppin, *Am. Jour. Arch.* 1900, pp. 441 ff.); *Cor.* Corinthian; *Chalc.* Chalcidian; *A. b. f.* Attic black-figured; *A. r. f.* Attic red-figured; *It.* Italian. Examples from other sources than the vases, together with a few examples from unusual types of vases, I have placed together at the end of each group, under the rubric *Other monuments*. Under each number I have noted: (1) the form of the vase (or other monument) upon which the device is found, and, in case of a signed vase, the artist or artists; (2) the place where the monument is preserved, if this is known, and, if it is published, references to the publication (in this connection, publ. indicates a publication with a reproduction, cf. a mere mention or description); and (3) the character upon whose shield the device appears. References with Cf. after the name of the character who bears the device are to other monuments upon which the same device appears, borne by the same character. Where the form of the shield is not mentioned, the round "Argolic" shield is meant.

The important collections are referred to by catalogue numbers, as published in the following works:

Furtwängler, *Beschreibung d. Vasensammlung im Antiquarium*. Berlin, 1885.

Walters and Smith, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, Vols. II, III, IV. London, 1893-96.

Jahn, *Beschreibung d. Vasensammlung König Ludwigs in d. Pinakothek zu München*. Munich, 1854.

Heydemann, *Die Vasensammlung d. Museo Nazionale zu Neapel*. Berlin, 1872.

Robinson, *Catalogue of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Vases in the Museum of Fine Arts*. Boston, 1893.

Masner, *Die Sammlung Ant. Vasen u. Terracotten im K. K. Oesterreich. Museum*. Vienna, 1892.

Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*. Paris, 1897.

Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Vases in the Fitzwilliam Museum*. Cambridge, 1897.

The abbreviations used will, for the most part, explain themselves. The following, perhaps, require explanation:

Gerhard, *A. V.*, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*; *E. C. V.*, *Etruskische u. Campanische Vasenbilder*.

Mon. and Ann., *Monumenti and Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*.

Él. Cér., Lenormant et DeWitte, *Élite des Monuments Céramographiques*.

Klein, *M.*, *Die Griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*, 2d ed. 1887.

I. AMPHORA. *A. b. f.* — 1. Amphora (Munich, 645; publ. Micali, *Storia*, pl. 80; *Él. Cér.* I, p. 202, pl. 60); on shield of Ares. — 2. Amphora (Munich, 730); on shields of two warriors.

II. ANCHOR. *A. b. f.* — 1. Panath. amphora (publ. *Mon.* I, pl. 22, 5a; cf. *Ann.* 1830, p. 218); on shield of Athena. — 2. Amphora (Vienna; publ. Millingen, *Anc. Uned. Mon.* pl. 9; *Él. Cér.* I, p. 11, pl. 6); on shield of giant fighting with Artemis. — 3. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 156); on shield of Cycnus. — 4. Lekythos (Munich, 762); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 184, B 285, B 294, B 337; Naples, SA 141, RC 195; Gerhard, *A. V.* III, pl. 211, 212, 1; IV, pl. 263, 1. *Other monuments*. — 5. Coin of Antiochus I. (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, IV, p. 11, Nos. 35-40, pl. 4, Nos. 7 and 8.

III. BALL. *Caeretan*. — 1. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 59; publ. *Cat. of Vases*, II, p. 68, fig. 41 and pl. 2); on shield of warrior. *A. b. f.* — 2. Amphora (Munich, 70); on shield of Athena. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 313. — 3. Hydria (Fitzwilliam Mus. 56; publ. *Cat.* pl. 18, p. 31); on shield of Ares. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 251. — 4. Amphora (Munich, 311); on shield of Enceladus. — 5. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 338); on shield of giant. — 6. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 325); on Boeot. shield of Achilles. — 7. Amphora, Amasis (Brit. Mus. B 209; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 117, pl. 207; *Arch. Zeit.* 1846, p. 237, pl. 39, 3; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 43, 2); on shield (pelta) of attendant of Memnon. — 8. Volute crater (Munich, 538); on shield of Amazon. Cf. Munich, 569; Brit. Mus. B 218. — 9. Hydria (Berlin, 1907); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 56, 76, 97, 409, 476, 726, 781, 1085, 1110, 1259, 1300; Brit. Mus. B 169, B 171, B 187, B 204, B 240, B 274, B 320, B 390, B 400; Berlin, 1739; Naples, 2523; Fitzwilliam Mus. 59. — 10. Hydria (Munich, 409); on Boeot. shield

lying on ground. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 501, 48. *A. r. f.* — 11. Hydria (Brit. Mus. E 234); on shield of warrior.

IV. BALL (winged). *A. b. f.* — Oenochoe (Berlin, 1732; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, p. 134, pl. 122, 123); on shield of Ares.

V. BALL AND CRESCENT. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Munich, 545); on shield of warrior.

VI. BALL AND CROWS (two). *A. r. f.* — Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 10; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 77, pl. 186); on Boeot. shield of warrior playing with pessi (Achilles? Ajax?).

VII. BALL AND DOLPHINS (two). *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Munich, 680); on Boeot. shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 330.

VIII. BALL AND FISH. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Naples, 2705); on shield of warrior.

IX. BALL AND LEAF. *A. b. f.* — Hydria (Berlin, 1907); on shield of warrior.

X. BALL AND RINGS (two). *A. b. f.* — 1. Oenochoe (Brit. Mus. B 518); on Boeot. shield of Amazon. — 2. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 316); on Boeot. shield of warrior.

XI. BALL AND SERPENTS (two). *A. b. f.* — Lekythos (Munich, 762); on Boeot. shield of warrior carrying comrade (Ajax?).

XII. BALL AND WREATH (ivy). *A. r. f.* — Cylix (Munich, 803); on shield of running youth.

XIII. BALL WITH TWO WINGS AND FOUR HORNS (all projecting from shield). *A. b. f.* — Amphora (formerly Coll. Feoli; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 91, pl. 194; *Mon.* III, pl. 50); on shield lying on ground.

XIV. BALLS (two). *A. b. f.* — 1. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 158); on shield of Athena. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 218, B 228; Naples, SA 148; *Arch. Zeit.* 1862, pl. 167. — 2. Amphora (Berlin, 1860; publ. Micali, *Storia*, III, p. 162, pl. 93; *Él. Cér.* I, p. 16, pl. 10); on shield of Enceladus. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 338, B 483, B 599, 2; Fitzwilliam Mus. 49. — 3. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 338); on shield of giant. — 4. Amphora (Fitzwilliam Mus. 50; publ. *Cat.* pl. 12, p. 25); on Boeot. shield of warrior playing with pessi (Achilles? Ajax?). Cf. Brit. Mus. B 211, B 501. — 5. Lekythos (Brit. Mus. B 529); on shield of Heracles. — 6. Crater (Brit. Mus. B 365); on Boeot. shield of Cycnus. — 7. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 322); on shield of Iolaus. — 8. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 309); on shield of female attendant upon Heracles (Britomartis?). — 9. Amphora (Munich, 478; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 113, pl. 205, 1; Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.* p. 501, pl. 21, 5); on shield of Amazon. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 219, B 322, B 323, B 472. — 10. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 217); on Boeot. shield of Amazon. — 11. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 164); on shield of warrior in battle with Amazons. — 12. Amphora (Fitzwilliam Mus. 59; publ. *Cat.* pl. 21, p. 34); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 87, 100, 112, 182, 451, 615, 651, 668, 717, 718, 1215, 1320, 1338, 1339; Brit. Mus. B 172, B 199, B 219, B 293, B 317, B 325,

B 331, B 343, B 390; Berlin, 1901, 2067; Naples, 2838, SA 144; *Ann.* 1868, pl. H. — 13. Hydria (Fitzwilliam Mus. 55; publ. *Cat.* pl. 17, p. 30); on Boeot. shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 337, B 340, B 360.

XV. BALLS (two) AND CRESCENT. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 263); on shield of warrior.

XVI. BALLS (two) AND CRESCENTS (two). *A. b. f.*—Cylix (publ. Micali, *Storia*, III, p. 166, pl. 96); on shield of warrior.

XVII. BALLS (two) AND GORGONEION. *A. r. f.*—Amphora (Munich, 567); on Boeot. shields of Ajax and Achilles playing with pessi.

XVIII. BALLS (two) AND INSCRIPTION X. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 258); on shield of warrior.

XIX. BALLS (two) AND PANTHER'S HEAD. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Berlin, 1855; publ. Micali, *Storia*, III, p. 161, pl. 92); on shield of Athena.

XX. BALLS (two) AND RING. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 292); on shield of warrior.

XXI. BALLS (two) WITH RINGS AROUND THEM. *A. b. f.*—Cylix (Munich, 1035); on shields of four warriors.

XXII. BALLS (two) AND SERPENT. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Fitzwilliam Mus. 49; publ. *Cat.* pl. 11, p. 24; *Él. Cér.* III, p. 36, pl. 12); on Boeot. shield of giant fighting with Poseidon.

XXIII. BALLS (two) AND SILENUS HEAD (projecting from shield). *A. b. f.* — 1. Hydria (Berlin, 1908); on Boeot. shields of warriors playing with pessi. — 2. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 217); on Boeot. shield of Amazon. — 3. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 306); on shield of warrior.

XXIV. BALLS (two) AND STRIPE. *A. b. f.*—Hydria (Naples, SA 12); on shield of warrior.

XXV. BALLS (two) AND TRIPOD. *A. b. f.*—Cylix (Brit. Mus. B 390); on shield of warrior.

XXVI. BALLS (two) AND TRIPOD AND INSCRIPTION A. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 204); on shield of warrior.

XXVII. BALLS (two) AND GORGONEION AND SERPENTS (two). *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Munich, 1295); on Boeot. shield of warrior carrying comrade (Ajax?).

XXVIII. BALLS (three). *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Berlin, 1859); on shield of Athena. Cf. Munich, 719; Brit. Mus. B 234, B 303, B 309; Naples, 3378; *Mon.* I, pl. 22, 6a. — 2. Amphora (Berlin, 1856; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gefässe*, p. 29, pl. 30, 11); on shield of giant. Cf. Munich, 719; Brit. Mus. B 145; Naples, RC 189. — 3. Lekythos (Berlin, 1999); on shield of Geryon. — 4. Amphora (Berlin, 1870; publ. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* p. 28, pl. 19); on Boeot. shield of Ajax. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 172. — 5. Oenochoe (Munich, 1361); on shield of Amazon. Cf.

Munich, 88; Brit. Mus. B 495; Gerhard, *A. V.* I, pl. 43, 2. — 6. Amphora (Berlin, 1863; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1848, p. 209, pl. 13, 1-3); on shield of warrior fighting with Amazons. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 495, B 496. — 7. Oenochoe (Brit. Mus. B 623); on shield of warrior fighting with Centaurs. — 8. Oenochoe (Brit. Mus. B 626); on shield of Satyrs. — 9. Cylix, Psiax (Munich, 1280; publ. *Am. Jour. Arch.* 1895, p. 488, fig. 79, and pl. 22); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 53, 99, 143, 165, 434, 435, 445, 478, 579, 604, 639, 714, 721, 726, 731, 740, 744, 766, 1150, 1179, 1191, 1206, 1210, 1233, 1359; Brit. Mus. B 143, B 212, B 291, B 294, B 302, B 304, B 314, B 316, B 323, B 336, B 390, B 522, B 523, B 675; Naples, 2715, 2764, SA 10, SA 143, SA 146, RC 179, RC 195, RC 198; Berlin, 1874, 1926; Boston, 312, 317. — 10. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 303); on Boeot. shield of warrior. *A. r. f.* — 11. Cylix, attrib. to Chelis (Boston, 393); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 1240; Naples, SA 32.

XXIX. BALLS (three) AND LEG. *A. b. f.* — Oenochoe (Boston, 352); on shield of warrior.

XXX. BALLS (four.) *A. b. f.* — 1. Amphora (Berlin, 1865; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* I, p. 191, pl. 63); on shield of giant. — 2. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 249) on Boeot. shield of warrior fighting with Amazon. — 3. Amphora (Berlin, 1879); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 163, 389, 590; Brit. Mus. B 291, B 390. — 4. Hydria (Berlin, 1892); on Boeot. shield of warrior.

XXXI. BALLS (four) AND CRESCENTS (three). *A. b. f.* — Celebe (Brit. Mus. B 362); on shield of warrior.

XXXII. BALLS (four) AND PITCHER. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Munich, 479); on shield of warrior.

XXXIII. BALLS (four) AND ROSETTE. *A. b. f.* — 1. Lekythos (Brit. Mus. B 640); on Boeot. shield of Achilles. — 2. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 339); on shield of warrior (Memnon?). — 3. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 218); on shield of Amazon fighting with Heracles.

XXXIV. BALLS (four) AND SERPENT (projecting from shield). *A. r. f.* — Cylix (formerly Coll. Pourtalès; publ. *Él. Cér.* I, p. 295, pl. 89); on shield of Enceladus.

XXXV. BALLS (four) AND STAR. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Naples, 2705); on shield of dead warrior.

XXXVI. BALLS (five). *A. b. f.* — 1. Cyathus (Naples, SA 132); on shield of Athena. Cf. Berlin, 2127. — 2. Cylix (Berlin, 2048; publ. Genick, *Gr. Keramik*, p. 20, pl. 27, 1); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 180, 683, 1359; Berlin, 1784, 1790; Brit. Mus. B 268, B 399; Naples, SA 267. *A. r. f.* — 3. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 10; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 77, pl. 186); on shield of warrior (Troilus?). — 4. Hydria (Naples, SA 32); on shield of warrior playing with pessi. *Other monuments.* — 5. Ms. of Homer, saec. v (Milan; publ. Mai, *Il. Frag. Ant. cum Picturis*, pl. 40; cf. pl. 42); on shield of Sarpedon.

XXXVII. BALLS (six). *A. b. f.* — 1. Amphora (Munich, 1294; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1867, p. 105, pl. 227); on shield of Athena. — 2. Crater (Brit. Mus. B 364; publ. *Cat. of Vases*, II, p. 18, fig. 27); on shield of Ares.

XXXVIII. BALLS (eight). *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Munich, 589); on shield of warrior.

XXXIX. BALLS (nine). *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Munich, 481); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 1125.

XL. BEETLE. *A. r. f.* — Cylix, Hischylos and Pheidippos (Brit. Mus. E 6; publ. *Cat. of Vases*, III, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 99); on shield of hoplitodromos.

XLI. BIRD. *Arg.* — 1. Lekythos (Brit. Mus.; publ. *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 167, pl. 1 and 2); on shield of warrior. *Cor.* — 2. Amphora (Berlin, 1147; publ. *Mon.* II, pl. 38 B; Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.* p. 515, pl. 22; cf. *Ann.* 1836, p. 310); on shield of horseman. Cf. Berlin, 967, 1055; Louvre, E 622, E 627, E 628. *A. b. f.* — 3. Amphora (Munich, 588; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 27, pl. 256, 257, 1, 2); on shield of Athena. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 166. — 4. Amphora (Munich, 81); on shield of Geryon. — 5. Oenochoe, Colchos (Berlin, 1732; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, p. 134, pl. 122, 123; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 48); on shield of Cycnus. — 6. Volute crater (Munich, 538); on shield of Amazon. — 7. Amphora (Boston, 322); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 7, 328, 476, 572, 589, 731, 1209; Brit. Mus. B 325; Berlin, 1807; Naples, 2798, 2819; Vienna, 220. *A. r. f.* — 8. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 20); on shield of Menelaus. — 9. Cylix, Euxitheos and Olto (Berlin, 2264; publ. Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.* p. 427, pl. 18, 2 and often; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 135, 1); on shield of Hippasos. — 10. Cylix, attrib. to Euphronios (Brit. Mus. E 45; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 118, pl. 13); on shield of Amazon. — 11. Cylix (Vienna, 322); on shield of youth.

XLII. BIRD WITH SERPENT IN CLAWS. *A. r. f.* — Cylix, attrib. to Duris (Corneto; publ. *Röm. Mitt.* 1890, p. 339, fig. 8; cf. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 589); on shield of warrior.

XLIII. BIRD AND INSCRIPTION ON. *A. r. f.* — Cylix, Euphronios (Berlin, 2281; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 37, pl. 3; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 140, 6); on shield of dead warrior.

XLIV. BIRD WITH MAN IN CLAWS. *A. r. f.* — Amphora (formerly Coll. Oppermann; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1863, p. 49, pl. 174); on shield of warrior.

XLV. BIRD AND WREATHS (two). *A. r. f.* — Cylix (Naples, SA 127); on shield of warrior.

XLVI. BIRDS (two). *A. b. f.* — 1. Amphora (Munich, 380; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 144, pl. 227; Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.* p. 543, pl. 23, 2); on Boeot. shield of Neoptolemus. — 2. Hydria (Berlin, 1907); on Boeot. shield of warrior. *A. r. f.* — 3. Cylix (Naples, SA 127); on Boeot. shield of warrior.

XLVII. BIRDS (two) AND ROSETTE. *A. b. and r. f.* — Amphora (Munich, 375); on Boeot. shield of warrior playing with pessi.

XLVIII. BIRDS (four) AND CROSS. *Arg.*—Lekythos (Brit. Mus.; publ. *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 167, pl. 1 and 2); on shield of warrior.

XLIX. BIT. *A. b. f.*—Celebe (Princeton); on shield of warrior.

L. BOAR. *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora, Amasis (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. DeLuynes, *Vases*, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 43, 1); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 191. *A. r. f.*—2. Cylix (Boston; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 111, pl. 203); on shield of Achilles.—3. Cylix, Euxitheos and Oltos (Berlin, 2264; publ. Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.* p. 427, pl. 18, 2; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 135, 1); on shield of Antilochus.—4. Amphora (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 104, pl. 329, 330, 1); on shield of Megareus fighting with Amazons.—5. Cup (Munich, 403); on shield of warrior.

LI. BOAR (winged). *A. r. f.*—Cylix, Cachrylion and Euphronios (Munich, 337; publ. Guignault, *Rel. de l'Ant.* pl. 180 bis; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 138, 3); on shield of Geryon.

LII. BOAR (fore part). *Caeretan.*—1. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 59; publ. *Cat. of Vases*, II, p. 68, fig. 41 and pl. 2); on shield of warrior. *From Daphnae.*—2. Fragment of situla (Brit. Mus. B 115, 1); on shield of warrior. *Chalc.*—3. Amphora (publ. *Mon.* I, pl. 51; cf. *Ann.* 1833, p. 224; Dumont et Chaplain, *Cér. de la Grèce Propre*, I, p. 278, 4); on shield of Echippos. *A. b. f.*—4. Amphora (Munich, 1125); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 251, B 400. *It.*—5. Amphora (Berlin, 2995); on shield of warrior.—6. Crater (Brit. Mus. F 158); on shield of warrior fighting with Amazons.

LIII. BOAR (fore part, winged). Coin of Lycia (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, XVIII, p. 26, No. 115; pl. 6, No. 16).

LIV. BOAR'S HEAD. *A. b. f.*—Cylix, Exekias (Munich, 339; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* I, p. 176, pl. 49; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 40, 7); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 313.

LV. BOAR'S HEAD (winged, with fish in jaws). *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Berlin, 1698; publ. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* p. 31, pl. 22); on shield of Athena.

LVI. BOW AND CLUB. *It.*—Nestoris (Brit. Mus. F 177); on shield of youth.

LVII. BRANCH (ivy). *A. b. f.*—1. Hydria (Berlin, 1902; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gefässe*, p. 32, pl. 16; Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.* p. 664, pl. 27, 17); on shield of warrior aiding Neoptolemus.—2. Amphora (Naples, SA 143); on shield of warrior. *A. r. f.*—3. Cantharus (Brit. Mus. E 154); on Boeot. shield of young man in chariot.

LVIII. BULL. *A. r. f.*—1. Amphora (formerly Coll. Durand; publ. *Mon.* I, pl. 55; cf. *Ann.* 1833, p. 237); on shield of Pirithous. Cf. *Ann.* 1833, pl. A.—2. Cylix, Hieron and Macron (Acerra, Coll. Spinelli; publ. *Gaz. Arch.* 1880, p. 57, pl. 7; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 172, 24); on shield of Menelaus.—3. Cylix, Brygos (Louvre; publ. Heydemann, *Iliupersis*, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 180, 4); on shield hanging on wall. Cf. Vienna, 328 B.—4. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 7); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. E 286; *Ann.* 1875, pl. FG.

LIX. BULL (fore part). *Cor.*—1. Aryballos (Vienna, 57); on shield of warrior. *A. b. f.*—2. Panath. amphora (Brit. Mus. B 136); on shield of Athena.—3. Amphora (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, p. 82, pl. 108); on shield of Geryon.—4. Amphora (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 33, pl. 262, 1); on shield of warrior.

LX. BULL'S HEAD. *Geom.*—1. Amphora (Berlin, 56); on shield of warrior.—2. Crater, Aristonophos (Rome, Mus. Cap.; publ. *Mon.* IX, pl. 4; cf. *Ann.* 1869, p. 157; Klein, *M.* p. 27); on shield of warrior fighting from ship. *Arg.*—3. Lekythos (Brit. Mus.; publ. *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 167, pl. 1 and 2); on shield of warrior. *Cor.*—4. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 47); on shield of warrior.—5. Celebe (Naples, 685); on shield of Hector. *A. b. f.*—6. Oenochoe, Colchos (Berlin, 1732; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, p. 134, pl. 122, 123; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 48); on shield of Athena. Cf. Berlin, 1717, 2050; Brit. Mus. B 248, B 276, B 319, B 424; Munich, 7, 407, 1261.—7. Oenochoe (Brit. Mus. B 617; publ. *Él. Cér.* I, p. 13, pl. 7); on shield of Ares.—8. Oenochoe (Berlin, 1925); on shield of goddess (Hera?) in contest with giants.—9. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 250); on shield of Enceladus.—10. Amphora (Munich, 719); on shield of giant. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 484.—11. Hydria (Munich, 132; publ. Micali, *Storia*, III, p. 177, pl. 99, 8); on shield of Heracles.—12. Cylix (Brit. Mus. B 442); on shield of Geryon.—13. Hydria (Berlin, 1895; publ. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* p. 21, pl. 14); on shield of Achilles. Cf. Munich, 357; Brit. Mus. B 307.—14. Lekythos (Naples, 2746; publ. Raoul-Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.* p. 88, pl. 17; Inghirami, *Gall. Omer.* II, p. 177, pl. 211); on shield of spirit of Patroclus.—15. Amphora (Berlin, 3996; publ. Furtwängler, *Samm. Sabouroff*, I, pl. 48); on shield of Neoptolemus.—16. Amphora (Munich, 124; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 139, pl. 223); on shield of Deiphobus.—17. Amphora (Munich, 151; publ. Micali, *Storia*, III, p. 163, pl. 95; Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.* pl. 3, 5); on shield of companion of Amphiarus.—18. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 245); on shield of Acamas.—19. Amphora (Berlin, 1846; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* I, p. 148, pl. 37); on shield of Amazon. Cf. Munich, 128, 492, 621, 1192, 1197; Brit. Mus. B 249, B 463, B 519, B 534; Vienna, 228, 266, 267; Naples, 2750.—20. Lekythos (Vienna, 241; publ. *Cat.* p. 32, fig. 17); on shield of warrior fighting with Amazons. Cf. Munich, 1081; Brit. Mus. B 323, B 426; Millin-Reinach, pl. 17.—21. Amphora (Munich, 3; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, p. 102, pl. 114); on Boeot. shield of warrior playing with pessi. Cf. Munich, 762; Brit. Mus. B 320.—22. Lekythos (Munich, 100); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 327, 409, 435, 451, 594, 623, 643, 717, 1269, 1351; Brit. Mus. B 176, B 189, B 199, B 212, B 361, B 426, B 521, B 600, 17, B 657, B 675; Berlin, 2048; Naples, 2523. *A. r. f.*—23. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 73; publ. *Jour. of Philol.* VII, p. 215, pl. B); on shield of Ares.—24. Stamnos (Munich, 421; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 101, pl. 201); on shield of warrior (Achilles?).—25. Amphora (formerly Coll. Ali-brandi; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 112, pl. 204); on shield of Memnon.—26. Celebe (Louvre; publ. *Mon.* X, pl. 22; cf. *Ann.* 1875, p. 188; Klein, *Lieblingsnamen*, p. 59, 27); on shield of Troilus.—27. Cylix, Cleophrades and Amasis II (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. DeLuynes, *Vases*, p. 24, pl. 44; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 149); on shield of Amazon.—28. Cylix, Pamphaios (Boston, P 6529); on shield of war-

rior. — 29. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 10; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 77, pl. 186); on shield of warrior playing with pessi. — 30. Cylix, Duris (Boston; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 206, pl. 21); on shield of warrior. — 31. Cylix, Euphronios (formerly Coll. Canino; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 141, pl. 224, 225; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 141, 8); on shield of warrior. — 32. Cylix, attrib. to Onesimos (Berlin, 2295; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 521, pl. 55); on shield of warrior. Cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, p. 57, No. 71, pl. 48 (cf. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 539). — 33. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 33); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. E 160; Berlin, 4039. *Other monuments.* — 34. Corinthian plaque (Berlin, 840); on shield of image of Athena. — 35. Coin of Polyrrhenium in Crete (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, IX, p. 68, Nos. 15–17, pl. 16, No. 16).

LXI. BULL'S HEAD WITH FILLET. *A. b. f.* — Hydria (Naples, 2435); on shield of warrior.

LXII. BULL'S HEAD AND RINGS (two). *A. r. f.* — Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 7; publ. Murray, *Designs*, p. 17, No. 4); on shield of warrior.

LXIII. BULL'S HEAD AND RINGS (four). *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Naples, SA 146); on shield of warrior.

LXIV. BULL'S HORNS. *A. r. f.* — Lebes (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 104, pl. 329, 330, 1); on shield of Acamas fighting with an Amazon.

LXV. CANTHARUS. *A. b. f.* — 1. Lekythos (Munich, 241); on shield of Athena. Cf. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, pl. 135. — 2. Lekythos (Naples, RC 206); on shield of giant. — 3. Volute Crater (Munich, 538); on shield of Amazon. — 4. Cylix (Berlin, 1790); on shield of hoplitodromos. Cf. Berlin, 1865; Brit. Mus. B 267. *A. r. f.* — 5. Cylix (formerly Coll. Beugot; publ. Gerhard, *Gr. u. Etrusk. Trinkschalen*, p. 29, pl. AB); on shields of three giants. — 6. ? (Arezzo; publ. *Mon.* VIII, pl. 6; cf. *Ann.* 1864, p. 239); on shields of two Amazons. — 7. Cylix, Cachrylion and Euphronios (Munich, 337; publ. Guignaut, *Rel. de l'Ant.* pl. 180 bis; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 138, 3); on shield of youth. Cf. Munich, 1232.

LXVI. CAP (Pilos). *A. b. f.* — Celebe (Naples, 2819); on shield of warrior.

LXVII. CENTAUR SWINGING BRANCH. *A. r. f.* — 1. Celebe (Harrow; publ. *J. H. S.* 1897, p. 294, pl. 6); on shield of Caeneus in contest with Centaurs. — 2. Crater (Brit. Mus. E 458; publ. *Mon.* II, pl. 25, 26; cf. *Ann.* 1835, p. 242); on shield of Demophon. — 3. Cylix, attrib. to Onesimos (Palermo, 1480; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, p. 57, No. 71, pl. 48; Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 539, fig. 63 B); on shield of Achilles. — 4. Cylix, Cleophrades and Amasis II (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. DeLuynes, *Vases*, p. 24, pl. 44; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 149); on shield of Amazon. — 5. Cylix, attrib. to Hieron (Florence; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 273, pl. 28; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 172); on shield of warrior. Cf. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, pl. 269; Palermo, 1480 (No. 3 *supra*).

LXVIII. CENTAUR BRANDISHING STONE. *A. r. f.* — Cylix, attrib. to Hieron (Florence; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 273, pl. 28; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 172); on shield of warrior.

LXIX. CENTAUR WITH CHLAMYS ON ARM. *A. r. f.*—Fragment (Naples, 2635; publ. Millingen, *Peint. de Vases*, p. 82, pl. 57); on shield carried by women (Nereids bringing shield to Achilles?).

LXX. CENTAUR TEACHING BOY TO PLAY THE FLUTE. Pompeian wall-painting (Naples; publ. *Mus. Borb.* IX, pl. 6); on shield with which Ulysses discovers Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes.

LXXI. CHAIR. *A. b. f.*—Cylinx (Berlin, 1795; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gefässe*, p. 2, pl. 1, 4-6); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 246; Naples, 2496.

LXXII. CHARIOT-BOX. *A. b. f.*—1. Panath. Amphora (Munich, 485); on shield of Athena. Cf. Munich, 491; Brit. Mus. B 146; Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. B 9, 17.—2. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 317); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 90, 409, 427, 446, 451, 493, 680, 1198, 1208; Brit. Mus. B 207, B 219, B 317, B 426, B 521; Naples, 2473, SA 12. *A. r. f.*—3. Cylinx, Euphronios (Brit. Mus. E 45; publ. Murray, *Designs*, p. 11, fig. 5); on shield of Amazon.

LXXIII. CHARIOT-BOX AND INSCRIPTION Κηφισοφ(ᾶν κα)λός(ς). *A. r. f.*—Cylinx, attrib. to Euphronios (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 132, pl. 16); on shield of youth.

LXXIV. CHARIOT WHEELS AND AXLE. *A. b. f.*—Lekythos (Brit. Mus. B 571); on shield of warrior.

LXXV. CLUB. *A. r. f.*—1. Amphora (Munich, 1185; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 11, pl. 244); on shield of Athena.—2. Amphora (Brit. Mus. E 295; publ. Millingen, *Anc. Uned. Mon.* I, p. 52, pl. 19); on shield of youth pursuing Amazon.—3. Hydria (Brit. Mus. E 235); on shield of warrior. *It.*—4. Calpis (Naples, 3247); on shield of warrior in battle with centaurs. Cf. Brit. Mus. F 177. *Other monuments.*—5. Coin of Thebes (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, VIII, pp. 74-76, Nos. 55, 59-63, 72-77, pl. 13, Nos. 6, 9 and 12); on Boeot. shield.—6. Coin of Thasos (Brit. Mus.; cf. *Cat. of Coins*, III, p. 219, No. 36); on shield of Heracles.

LXXVI. CLUB AND INSCRIPTION ΗΟ. *A. r. f.*—Cylinx (Naples, SA 127); on shield of warrior.

CLUB AND BOW. See No. LVI.

LXXVII. COCK. *Arg.*—1. Lekythos (Brit. Mus.; publ. *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 167, pl. 1 and 2); on shields of two warriors. *Cor.*—2. Celebe (Louvre, E 635; publ. Pottier, *Vases Ant. du Louvre*, p. 56, pl. 49; *Mon.* VI, pl. 33; cf. *Ann.* 1859, p. 243); on shield of warrior. *A. b. f.*—3. Panath. Amphora (publ. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. B, 19); on shield of Athena.—4. Amphora (Munich, 53); on shield of Hector.—5. Amphora (Berlin, 1708); on shield of warrior. *A. r. f.*—6. Cylinx (Brit. Mus. E 8); on shield of giant fighting with Dionysus. Cf. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, pl. 85.—7. Cylinx, Cachrylion and Euphronios (Munich, 337; publ. Guignaut, *Rel. de l'Ant.* pl. 180 bis; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 138, 3); on shield of warrior.—8. Amphora, Andocides (Madrid; publ. *Am. Jour. Arch.* 1896, p. 6, fig. 4; cf. Klein, *M.*

p. 190, 3); on shield of warrior. — 9. Scyphus, Nicosthenes (Berlin, 2324; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 71, No. 77); on shield of warrior. — 10. Cantharus (Brit. Mus. E 154); on Boeot. shield of warrior. — 11. Stamnos (Munich, 421; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 108, pl. 201); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 403; Brit. Mus. E 419.

LXXVIII. COCK AND ROSETTE. *Cor.* — Celebe (Louvre, E 635; publ. Pottier, *Vases Ant. du Louvre*, p. 56, pl. 49; *Mon.* VI, pl. 33; cf. *Ann.* 1859, p. 243); on shield of warrior.

LXXIX. CRAB. *Geom.* — 1. Crater, Aristonophos (Rome, Mus. Cap.; publ. *Mon.* IX, pl. 4; cf. *Ann.* 1869, p. 157; Klein, *M.* p. 27); on shield of warrior fighting from ship. *A. b. f.* — 2. Amphora (Munich, 327); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 639. *A. r. f.* — 3. Cylix, Duris (Louvre; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 159, 20); on shield of warrior. Cf. Berlin, 2535; Brit. Mus. E 255. *Other monuments.* — 4. Terra cotta shield (Berlin, 2122). Cf. Wolters, *Jahrb.* 1899, p. 119.

LXXX. CRESCENT. *Cor.* — 1. Celebe (Louvre, E 635; publ. Pottier, *Vases Ant. du Louvre*, p. 56, pl. 49; *Mon.* VI, pl. 33; cf. *Ann.* 1859, p. 243); on shield of warrior. *A. b. f.* — 2. Amphora (Munich, 476; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 27, pl. 256, 257, 3, 4); on shield of hoplitodromos. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 293, B 366, B 380. *A. r. f.* — 3. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 77); on shield of warrior.

LXXXI. CRESCENT AND RINGS (two). *A. r. f.* — Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 13); on Boeot. shield of Achilles.

LXXXII. CRESCENT AND RINGS (three). *A. r. f.* — Amphora (Sèvres; publ. Reinach-Millin, p. 51, pl. II. 14); on shield of warrior.

CRESCENT AND BALL. See No. v.

CRESCENT AND BALLS (two). See No. xv.

LXXXIII. CRESCENTS (two). *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Munich, 545); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 693; Gerhard, *A. V.* III, pl. 228, 1.

CRESCENTS (two) AND BALLS (two). See No. xvi.

LXXXIV. CRESCENTS (three). *A. b. f.* — 1. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 173); on shield of Acamas. — 2. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 235); on shield of warrior.

CRESCENTS (three) AND BALLS (four). See No. xxxi.

LXXXV. CRESCENTS (five). *A. b. f.* — Amphora (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 33, pl. 262, 1); on shield of warrior.

LXXXVI. CROSS. *A. b. f.* — 1. Amphora (Munich, 642); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 740; Naples, 2792. *A. r. f.* — 2. Cylix, attrib. to Euphronios (Naples, Coll. Bourguignon; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 115, pl. 12); on shield of warrior.

CROSS AND BIRDS (four). See No. xlviii.

LXXXVII. CROSSES (three). *Geom.* — Crater, Aristonophos (Rome, Mus. Cap.; publ. *Mon.* IX, pl. 4; cf. *Ann.* 1869, p. 157; Klein, *M.* p. 27); on shield of warrior fighting from ship.

LXXXVIII. CROW. *A. r. f.* — ? (Arezzo; publ. *Mon.* VIII, pl. 6; cf. *Ann.* 1864, p. 239); on shield of Amazon.

LXXXIX. CROW WITH LEG OF ANIMAL IN BEAK. *A. r. f.* — Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 16); on shield of warrior in train of Ajax.

CROWS (two) AND BALL. See No. VI.

XC. CUTTLE-FISH. *A. b. f.* — 1. Lekythos (Brit. Mus. B 526); on shield of Geryon. — 2. Amphora (Munich, 1191); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 161. *A. r. f.* — 3. Cylix, Cachrylion and Euphronios (Munich, 337; publ. Guignaut, *Rel. de P. Ant.* pl. 180 bis; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 138, 3); on shield of Geryon. — 4. Cylix, attrib. to Onesimos (Munich, 368; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 542, pl. 60); on shield of warrior in battle with centaurs. — 5. Cylix, Euxitheos and Olotos (Berlin, 2264; publ. Overbeck, *Call. Her. Bild.* p. 427, pl. 18, 2; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 135, 1); on shield of Achilles. — 6. Cylix, Phintias (Athens; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 83, pl. 17, 3); on shield of warrior. — 7. Cylix, attrib. to Euphronios (Naples, Coll. Bourguignon; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 115, pl. 12); on shield of warrior. Cf. Naples, 3190.

XCI. CUTTLE-FISH AND INSCRIPTION (καλός? *A. r. f.* — Cylix, attrib. to Pamphaios (Brit. Mus. E 35; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 89); on shield of warrior in contest with Pegasi.

XCII. CYLIX. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Munich, 168); on shield of warrior.

XCIII. DOG. *A. b. f.* — 1. Amphora (Munich, 586); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 394. *A. r. f.* — 2. Amphora (publ. *Mon.* XI, pl. 15; cf. *Ann.* 1880, p. 27); on shield of Ajax. — 3. Cantharus, Duris (Brussels; publ. *Mon.* II, pl. 11; cf. *Ann.* 1834, p. 295; Klein, *M.* p. 160, 22); on shield of warrior in contest with Amazons. — 4. Cylix (formerly Coll. Depoletti; publ. *Ann.* 1875, p. 78, note 23, pl. FG); on shield of warrior. Cf. *Mon.* II, pl. 44 a. *It.* — 5. Crater (Brit. Mus. F 158); on shield (pelta) of Amazon.

XCIV. DOG (hind part). *A. b. f.* — Lekythos (Brit. Mus. B 571); on shield of warrior.

XCV. DOG'S HEAD. Terra cotta shield (Boston); on three oblong shields found in a grave. Cf. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1899, p. 229, fig. 3.

XCVI. DOLPHIN. *A. b. f.* — 1. Panath. amphora (Brit. Mus. B 130; publ. *Mon.* X, pl. 48 i; cf. *Ann.* 1877, p. 299); on shield of Athena. — 2. Amphora (Naples, SA 181); on shield of warrior in train of Aeneas. — 3. Hydria (Naples, SA 12); on Boeot. shield of warrior. — 4. Amphora (formerly Coll. Feoli; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 91, pl. 194; *Mon.* III, pl. 50; cf. *Ann.* 1843, p. 60); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 56, 445, 493, 539, 1305, 1358; Brit. Mus. B 143, B 280, B 291, B 304, B 305, B 336, B 361, B 366, B 571; Naples, SA 12, SA 170. *A. r. f.* — 5. Crater (Louvre; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1845, p. 163, pl. 35, 3; Reinach-Millingen, pl. 50); on shield of warrior attendant upon Philoctetes. — 6. Cylix, Epictetos (Würzburg, III, 432; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 109, 4); on shield of warrior.

XCVII. DOLPHIN (winged). *A. r. f.*—Cylix, attrib. to Euphronios (Brit. Mus. E 45; publ. Murray, *Designs*, No. 28; Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 118, pl. 13); on shield of Hippolyta.

XCVIII. DOLPHIN WITH MAN ON HIS BACK. *A. r. f.*—Cylix (cf. Gerhard, *Arch. Zeit.* 1846, p. 342); on shield of warrior.

XCIX. DOLPHINS (two). *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 237); on shield of Athena.—2. Hydria (Munich, 138); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 591; Brit. Mus. B 199, B 207, B 237, B 268, B 343, B 600, 18; Gerhard, *A. V.* III, pl. 211, 212, 1. *A. r. f.*—3. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 10; publ. Murray, *Designs*, No. 7; Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 77, pl. 186); on shield of Achilles.—4. Cylix, attrib. to Pamphaios (Brit. Mus. E 35; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 89); on shield of warrior fighting with Pegasi.—5. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 10; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 77, pl. 186); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 803; Brit. Mus. E 168, E 509, 8; *Ann.* 1875, pl. FG.

DOLPHINS (two) AND BALL. See No. VII.

C. DOVE. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Boston, 311); on shield of warrior. Cf. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, pl. 258, 2.

CI. DOVE AND PANTHER'S HEAD. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Munich, 1295); on Boeot. shield of warrior.

CII. DOVES (two) AND PANTHER'S HEAD. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Munich, 1295); on Boeot. shield of warrior.

CIII. EAGLE. *Rhod.*—1. Patera (Louvre; publ. Salzmänn, *Néc. de Camiros*, pl. 53); on shield of Hector.—2. Aryballos (Coll. Froehner; publ. Salzmänn, *Néc. de Camiros*, pl. 55, 1); on shields of two warriors. *Cor.*—3. Celebe (Louvre, E 638; publ. Pottier, *Vases Ant. du Louvre*, p. 57, pl. 50); on shield of follower of Priam. *Chalc.*—4. Amphora (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, p. 77, pl. 105, 106; cf. Dumont et Chaplain, *Cér. de la Grèce Propre*, I, p. 279, 5); on shield of Geryon.—5. Crater (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 94, pl. 322; cf. Dumont et Chaplain, *Cér. de la Grèce Propre*, I, p. 280, 10); on shield of Hector.—6. Amphora (publ. *Mon.* I, pl. 51; cf. *Ann.* 1833, p. 224; Dumont et Chaplain, *Cér. de la Grèce Propre*, I, p. 278, 4); on shield of Diomedes.—7. Cylix (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 84, pl. 190, 191; cf. Dumont et Chaplain, *Cér. de la Grèce Propre*, I, p. 278, 3); on shield of Glaucus.—8. Hydria (Brit. Mus. E 76; publ. Torr, *Rhodes in Anc. Times*, p. 114, pl. 6 A); on shield of follower of Hector. *A. b. f.*—9. Panath. amphora (publ. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. B, 1); on shield of Athena.—10. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 155; publ. *Cat. of Vases*, II, p. 17, fig. 26); on shield of Geryon. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 310.—11. Amphora (Fitzwilliam Mus. 44; publ. *Cat.* pl. 7, p. 17); on shield of Amazon.—12. Amphora (Berlin, 1718; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1861, p. 207, pl. 156); on shield of warrior. Cf. Naples, 686; Brit. Mus. B 379, B 445. *A. r. f.*—13. Cylix, Pamphaios (Munich, 439; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 92, 12); on shield of Athena.—14. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 47); on shield of giant.—15. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 10; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.*

III, p. 77, pl. 186); on shield of Achilles.—16. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 18; publ. Jahn, *Dichter auf Vasenbildern*, p. 756, pl. 3); on shield of Amazon.—17. Cylix, Pamphaios (Brit. Mus. E 12; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 136, pl. 221, 222; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 94, 20); on shield of Amazon.—18. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 17); on shield of warrior fighting with Amazons.

CIV. EAGLE WITH SERPENT IN CLAWS. *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 194; publ. *Cat. of Vases*, II, pl. 4); on shield of Geryon. *A. r. f.*—2. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 19; publ. Murray, *Designs*, No. 15; Jahn, *Dichter auf Vasenbildern*, p. 758, No. 9, pl. 6); on shield of bowman (or Amazon?).—3. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 7); on shield of warrior.

CV. EAGLE WITH SERPENT IN CLAWS AND INSCRIPTION (κα)λον. *A. r. f.*—Cylix, attrib. to Euphronios (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 132, pl. 16); on shield of hoplitodromos.

CVI. EAGLE WITH SERPENT IN CLAWS AND STARS (four). *A. r. f.*—Cylix (Berlin, 2294; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gefässe*, p. 17, pl. 9, 2; Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.* p. 433, pl. 18, 6); on Boeot. shield which Thetis brings to Achilles.

CVII. EAGLE AND PANTHER AND ROSETTE. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Munich, 615); on Boeot. shield of Amazon.

CVIII. EAGLES (two) AND PANTHER'S HEAD. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Berlin, 1718; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1861, p. 207, pl. 156); on Boeot. shield of warrior.

CIX. EYE. *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Munich, 729); on shield of warrior. *A. r. f.*—2. Cylix (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 95, pl. 195, 196); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 306, 382; *Él. Cér.* I, pl. 94.

CX. FAWN. *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Berlin, 1863; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1848, p. 209, pl. 13, 1); on shield of Athena.—2. Amphora (Fitzwilliam Mus. 52; publ. *Cat.* pl. 14, p. 27); on shield of warrior.

FISH AND BALL. See No. VIII.

CXI. FISHES (two) (dolphins?). *A. b. f.*—1. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 338); on shield of giant.—2. Volute crater (Naples, 2842); on shield of warrior.

CXII. FLOWER. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Munich, 151; publ. Micali, *Storia*, III, p. 163, pl. 95); on shields of two warriors.

CXIII. FLOWER AND PATTERN (palm-leaf ornament). *A. b. f.*—Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 329); on shield of Cycnus.

CXIV. FOX WITH BUNCH OF GRAPES. *A. r. f.*—Cylix (Fitzwilliam Mus. 70; publ. *Cat.* pl. 26, p. 43; Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 97); on shield of warrior.

CXV. GOAT. *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora, Amasis (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. De-Luynes, *Vases*, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 43, 1); on shield of warrior. Cf. Gerhard, *A. V.* I, pl. 44. *A. r. f.*—2. Cylix (Naples, SA 127); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 403.

CXVI. GOAT (fore part). *Chalc.* — 1. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 76; publ. Torr, *Rhodes in Anc. Times*, p. 114, pl. 6 A); on shield of follower of Hector. *A. b. f.* — 2. Amphora (Fitzwilliam Mus. 51; publ. *Cat.* pl. 13, p. 26); on shield of Amazon. Cf. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, pl. 258, 3. — 3. Amphora, Amasis (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. DeLuynes, *Vases*, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 43, 1); on shield of warrior. *A. r. f.* — 4. ? (formerly Coll. Hamilton; publ. *Él. Cér.* I, p. 230, pl. 69); on shield of Athena.

CXVII. GOAT'S HEAD. *Arg.* — 1. Lekythos (Brit. Mus.; publ. *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 167, pl. 1 and 2); on shield of warrior. *A. b. f.* — 2. Panath. amphora (publ. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. B, 7); on shield of Athena.

CXVIII. GOATS (two). *A. b. f.* — Amphora, Amasis (Naples, Coll. Bourguignon; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, p. 237, pl. 15 A; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 44, 3); on shield of warrior.

CXIX. GORGONEION. *Mel.* — 1. Amphora (Athens; publ. Conze, *Mel. Thongefässe*, pl. 3; Rayet et Collignon, *Hist. de la Céramique Grecque*, p. 39, fig. 24); on shield of warrior. *Cyrenaic.* — 2. Cylix (publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 215, pl. 12, 2); on shield of Heracles. *Cor.* — 3. Lagynos, Timonidas (Athens; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1863, p. 57, pl. 175; cf. Collignon, *Cat. des Vases d'Athènes*, No. 181; Klein, *M.* p. 29); on shield of Achilles. — 4. Celebe (Louvre, E 636; publ. Pottier, *Vases Ant. du Louvre*, p. 57, pl. 49); on shield of warrior defending Hippolytus. — 5. Hydria (Louvre, E 643; publ. Pottier, *Vases Ant. du Louvre*, p. 59, pl. 51; *Ann.* 1864, p. 186, pl. OP); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 39; Berlin, 1655. *A. b. f.* — 6. Amphora, Amasis (Naples, Coll. Bourguignon; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, p. 237, pl. 15 B; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 44, 3); on shield of Athena. — 7. Panath. amphora (Berlin, 1832; publ. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. A, 11); on shield of Athena. Cf. Munich, 655; Naples, 3415, RC 184; *Mon.* I, pl. 21, 9a; 22, 7a. — 8. Cylix (Munich, 560); on shield of Athena. Cf. Munich, 1147; Brit. Mus. B 379. — 9. Amphora (Vienna, 223); on shield of Ares. Cf. Gerhard, *A. V.* I, pl. 1 (*Él. Cér.* I, pl. 62). — 10. Amphora, Exekias (Louvre; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, p. 80, pl. 107; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 38, 1); on shield of Geryon. — 11. Hydria (Munich, 409); on Boeot. shield of Achilles. — 12. Amphora (Munich, 567); on Boeot. shield of Amazon. — 13. Cylix (Brit. Mus. B 380; publ. *J. H. S.* 1884, p. 220, pl. 43); on shield of warrior. — 14. Crater (Vienna, 237; publ. *Cat.* pl. 4, p. 30); on Boeot. shield of warrior. Cf. Berlin, 2099. *A. r. f.* — 15. Cylix, attrib. to Olto (Brit. Mus. E 15; publ. *Él. Cér.* I, p. 208, pl. 63; cf. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 79 and p. 233, note 1); on shield of Athena. — 16. Cylix, Cachrylion and Euphronios (Munich, 337; publ. Guignaut, *Rel. de l'Ant.* pl. 180 bis; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 138, 3); on shield of Athena. — 17. Cylix, attrib. to Hieron (Florence; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 273, pl. 28; cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, p. 248; Klein, *M.* p. 163); on shield of Athena. — 18. Scyphos, attrib. to Brygos (Vienna, 328; publ. *Cat.* p. 46, fig. 25; *Mon.* VIII, pl. 27); on shield of Achilles. — 19. Crater (Boston; publ. Robert, *Scenen d. Il. u. Aithiopis*, pl. 1); on shield of Memnon. — 20. Amphora, attrib. to Pamphaios (Vienna, 319; publ. *Nuove Mem. dell' Istituto*, IV, p. 384,

pl. 4); on Boeot. shield of warrior. *It.* — 21. Crater (Brit. Mus. F 479; publ. *Cat.* IV, pl. 13); on shield of Athena. Cf. Munich, 810; *Arch. Zeit.* 1844, pl. 18; *Mon.* V, pl. 12. — 22. Medallion crater (Naples, 3254; publ. *Mon.* IX, pl. 32, 33; cf. *Ann.* 1871, p. 166); on shield of Achilles. — 23. Medallion crater (Naples, 3254; publ. *Mon.* IX, pl. 32, 33; *Ann.* 1871, pl. NO and P); on shield of Patroclus. — 24. Medallion crater (Naples, 3252); on shield (of Achilles?) borne by Nereids. — 25. Celebe (Brit. Mus. F 490); on shield of Perseus. — 26. Medallion crater (Naples, 3253); on shield (pelta) of Amazon. — 27. Crater (Brit. Mus. F 278; publ. *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1858, p. 145, pl. 9; Heydemann, *Iliupersis*, p. 36, pl. 11, 2abc); on shields (peltae) of two Trojan women. — 28. Volute crater (Naples, 3239); on shield of youth. Cf. Naples, 2576. *Other monuments.* — 29. Sarcophagus from Clazomenae (Smyrna; publ. *J. H. S.* 1883, p. 1, pl. 31); on shield of warrior. — 30. Calenian phiale (Brit. Mus. G 118); on shield of Athena. — 31. Cista (Paris?; publ. Raoul-Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.* pl. 20, 1; Inghirami, *Gall. Omer.* II, p. 186, pl. 215); on shield lying on bier of Patroclus. — 32. Marble relief (Taranto; publ. *Jahreshefte d. Oest. Arch. Institutes in Wien*, I, pp. 17 ff., figs. 21, 23); on shields of two warriors. — 33. Terra cotta relief (Athens; publ. *J. H. S.* 1897, p. 315, fig. 7); on shield of Athena. — 34. Terra cotta figurine (Boston); on shield of Athena. Cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, pl. 8. — 35. Terra cotta figurine (Athens; publ. *Fondation Piot*, IV, p. 212); on shield of Eros. — 36. Intaglio, Dioscorides (Naples; publ. *Mus. Borb.* XV, pl. 36); on shield of Ares. — 37. Coin of Gortyna (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, IX, p. 43, No. 48, pl. 11, No. 7); on shield of Athena. Cf. the Athenian coin, Brit. Mus. *Cat. of Coins*, XI, p. 94, No. 681, pl. 16, No. 5. — 38. Coin of Pyrrhus (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, VI, p. 111, No. 8, pl. 20, No. 11); on shield of Achilles, borne by Thetis. — 39. Ms. of Homer, saec. v. (Milan; publ. Mai, *Il. Frag. Ant. cum Picturis*, pl. 11, 16, 17, 19, 25); on shield of Athena.

CXX. GORGONEION (projecting from shield). *A. r. f.* — Amphora (Leyden; publ. Reinach-Millin, p. 15, pl. I., 19); on shield of Achilles.

CXXI. GORGONEION (projecting from shield) AND RAYS. *It.* — Fragment of situla (Naples, 2883; publ. *Mon.* IX, pl. 6; cf. *Ann.* 1869, p. 185); on shield of Enceladus.

CXXII. GORGONEION AND WREATH (laurel). *It.* — Volute crater (Naples, 2421); on shield of warrior fighting with Amazons.

CXXIII. GORGONEION AND TRISKELE. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, p. 173, pl. 141, 3, 4); on shield of Athena.

GORGONEION AND BALLS (two). See No. XVII.

CXXIV. GORGONEION AND LION AND SERPENT. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Munich, 328); on Boeot. shield of warrior.

CXXV. GORGONEION AND PANTHERS (four) AND ROSETTES (two). *A. b. f.* — Amphora (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 124, pl. 211, 212, 4); on Boeot. shield of Ajax.

GORGONEION AND BALLS (two) AND SERPENTS (two). See No. XXVII.

CXXVI. GRIFFIN. *Arg.* — 1. Lekythos (Brit. Mus.; publ. *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 167, pl. 1 and 2); on shield of warrior. *A. b. f.* — 2. Panath. amphora (Naples, 2764); on shield of Athena. — 3. Amphora (Munich, 545); on shield of warrior. Cf. Naples, RC 172. *A. r. f.* — 4. Stamnos (Louvre; publ. *Ann.* 1867, p. 211, pl. F); on shield of warrior fighting Amazons. *Other monuments.* — 5. Coin of Lycia (Brit. Mus.; cf. *Cat. of Coins*, XVIII, p. xxxiv). — 6. Coin of Tarentum (Naples; publ. *Mus. Borb.* IV, pl. 15, Nos. 1, 2); on shield of Taras.

CXXVII. GRIFFIN (wingless). *A. b. f.* — Cylix (Munich, 881); on shield of warrior.

CXXVIII. GRIFFIN (projecting from shield). *A. b. f.* — 1. Lekythos (Berlin, 2007); on shield of Heracles. — 2. Panath. amphora (Berlin, 1701); on shield of warrior. *It.* — 3. Fragment of situla (Naples, 2883; publ. *Mon.* IX, pl. 6; cf. *Ann.* 1869, p. 185); on shield of giant.

CXXIX. HAND. *A. r. f.* — Amphora (Brit. Mus. E 277); on shield of warrior.

CXXX. HARE. *A. r. f.* — Amphora (Brit. Mus. E 285; publ. D' Hancarville, *Coll. of Ant.* IV, pl. 74); on shield of warrior.

CXXXI. HEAD OF WHEAT. Coin of Orchomenos (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, VIII, p. 54, No. 24, pl. 8, No. 12); on Boeot. shield.

CXXXII. HELMET. *A. b. f.* — Lekythos (Brit. Mus. B 571); on shield of warrior.

CXXXIII. HELMET AND INSCRIPTION *καλός*. *A. b. f.* — Cylix (Munich, 1305); on shield of warrior.

CXXXIV. HOOF. Coin of Larissa (Brit. Mus.; cf. *Cat. of Coins*, VI, p. 28, No. 46).

CXXXV. HORN. *A. b. f.* — 1. Amphora (formerly Coll. Blaydes; cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1846, p. 296); on shield of Athena. — 2. Amphora (Munich, 182); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 1259; Brit. Mus. B 380. *A. r. f.* — 3. Cylix (Brit. Mus. F 7); on shield of warrior.

CXXXVI. HORSE. *A. b. f.* — 1. Oenochoe (Munich, 1258); on Boeot. shield of Caeneus in contest with Centaurs. *A. r. f.* — 2. Crater (Brit. Mus. E 470; publ. Raoul-Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.* I, p. 321, pl. 60; *Arch. Zeit.* 1848, p. 215, pl. 14, 2); on shield of statue of Athena. — 3. Cylix, Euphronios (Perugia; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 141, pl. 226; Harrison, *Gk. Vase Paintings*, pl. 17 A); on shield of Achilles. — 4. Celebe (Brit. Mus. E 473); on shield of Lapith. — 5. Stamnos (Brit. Mus. E 450; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 42, pl. 163); on shield of Theseus. — 6. Cylix, attrib. to Onesimos (Munich, 368; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 542, pl. 60); on shield of warrior fighting with centaurs. — 7. Cylix, Pamphaios (Brit. Mus. E 12; publ. *Archaeologia*, XXIX, p. 139, pl. 16; Gerhard, *A. V.* III, pl. 221, 222; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 94, 20); on shield of Amazon. — 8. Cylix, Cachrylion (Palermo;

publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 19, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 129, 13); on shield of warrior. — 9. Cylix, attrib. to Onesimos (Berlin, 2295; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 521, pl. 57); on shield of warrior. — 10. Cylix, attrib. to Phintias (Berlin, 2304; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gefässe*, p. 8, pl. 6 and 7, 5; Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 186, pl. 18); on shield of warrior. — 11. Cylix, Hieron? (Boston; publ. *Mon.* II, pl. 48; Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 435, pl. 40; cf. *Ann.* 1837, p. 209; Klein, *M.* p. 170, 16); on shield of warrior. — 12. Cylix (Naples, 2609); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 403; Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, pl. 268; Millin, *Peint. de Vases*, II, pl. 22; Hartwig, *Meistersch.* pl. 71; *Ann.* 1875, pl. Q.

CXXXVII. HORSE AND INSCRIPTION καλός. *A. r. f.* — Celebe (Vienna; publ. *Él. Cér.* I, p. 10, pl. 5); on shield of Ephialtes.

CXXXVIII. HORSE AND INSCRIPTION ΝΓΟΕ. *A. r. f.* — Celebe (Naples, RC 131); on shield of warrior.

CXXXIX. HORSE (winged). *A. b. f.* — 1. Panath. amphora (Munich, 656); on shield of Athena. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 131, B 132; *Mon.* I, pl. 21, 10a, pl. 22, 8a; VI, pl. 9. *A. r. f.* — 2. Amphora (Athens; publ. Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenbilder*, p. 57, pl. 31, 2b); on shield of Athena. Cf. *Él. Cér.* I, pl. 83. — 3. Celebe (publ. *Mon.* X, pl. 22; cf. *Ann.* 1875, p. 188); on shield of Achilles. — 4. Stannos, Smikros (Brit. Mus. E 438; cf. Klein, *Liebingsnamen*, p. 127, 2); on shield of Hector. — 5. Crater (Brit. Mus. E 458; publ. *Mon.* II, pl. 25, 26; cf. *Ann.* 1835, p. 242); on shield of Acamas. — 6. Cylix, attrib. to Hieron (Florence; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 273, pl. 28; cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, p. 249; Klein, *M.* p. 172); on shield of warrior. — 7. Cylix, attrib. to Onesimos (Edinburgh; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 515, pl. 56, 1); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. E 77, E 405, E 448. *Other monuments.* — 8. Coin of Lycia (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, XVIII, p. 27, Nos. 121, 123, pl. 7, Nos. 6 and 8).

CXL. HORSE (winged) AND INSCRIPTION Πίθων καλή. *A. r. f.* — Amphora (Boston; cf. *Trustees' Report*, 1895, p. 19, 13); on shield of Athena.

CXLI. HORSE (fore part). *A. b. f.* — 1. Amphora, Amasis (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. DeLuynes, *Vases*, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 43, 1); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 680, 1125; *Mon.* III, pl. 24. *A. r. f.* — 2. Cylix, attrib. to Euphronios (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 132, pl. 16); on shield of hoplitodromos. — 3. Cylix (Naples, 2614; publ. *Mus. Borb.* XIV, pl. 29); on shield of warrior. *Other monuments.* — 4. Coin of Aspendus (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, XVIII, p. 102, Nos. 69–71, pl. 22, Nos. 1 and 2).

CXLII. HORSE (hind part). *A. b. f.* — 1. Panath. amphora (publ. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. B, 29); on shield of Athena. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 138. — 2. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 220); on shield of Geryon. — 3. Amphora (Munich, 53); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 1354. *A. r. f.* — 4. Cylix, Pamphaios (Boston); on shields of two warriors.

CXLIII. HORSE (hind part) AND INSCRIPTION Σπewν? *A. r. f.* — Cantharus (Brit. Mus. E 154); on shield of warrior.

CXLIV. HORSE'S HEAD. *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Munich, 150); on shields of two warriors. *A. r. f.*—2. Cylix (Munich, 404; publ. Inghirami, *Gall. Omer.* pl. 238, 239; Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.* pl. 20, 3); on shield of follower of Achilles.

CXLV. HORSEMAN. *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Munich, 163); on shield of warrior. *A. r. f.*—2. Fragment of cylix (Naples, Coll. Bourguignon; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 277, fig. 39); on shield of Achilles playing with pessi.—3. Cylix, Duris (Berlin, 2283; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, p. 1, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 153, 5); on shield of warrior.

CXLVI. HYDRIA. *A. b. f.*—Oenochoe (Munich, 426); on shield of Amazon.

CXLVII. INSCRIPTION A. *A. b. f.*—1. Lekythos (Brit. Mus. B 574); on shields of three warriors. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 608. *A. r. f.*—2. Amphora (formerly Coll. Dzialynski; cf. *Rev. Arch.* XVII (1868), p. 352, No. 15); on shield of youth.—3. Pelike (Naples, 3083); on shield of youth. Cf. St. Petersburg, 1632, and Coll. Feoli, 121 (mentioned by Heydemann, *Vasensammlung zu Neapel*, p. 464).

INSCRIPTION A AND BALLS (two) AND TRIPOD. See No. XXVI.

CXLVIII. INSCRIPTION E. Coin of Tarentum (Naples; publ. *Mus. Borb.* III, pl. 48, No. 1); on shield of Taras.

CXLIX. INSCRIPTION M. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 294); on shield of warrior.

CL. INSCRIPTION X. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 294); on shield of warrior.

INSCRIPTION X AND BALLS (two). See No. XVIII.

CLI. INSCRIPTION Y. Coin of Chalcis (publ. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Gk.* p. 221); on Boeot. shield.

CLII. INSCRIPTION AΘE. *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 173); on shield of Demophon. *A. r. f.*—2. Amphora (publ. Panofka, *Bild. Ant. Lebens*, I, pl. 10); on shields of two youths.

CLIII. INSCRIPTION AX (monogram). Coin of ΛΑΡΙ (Larisa Cremaste?) (Berlin; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, p. 100, pl. 23, No. 15); on shield of Achilles, carried by Thetis.

CLIV. INSCRIPTION 'ΑΧΙΛΛΕΨ. Frieze of Cnidian treasury (Delphi; cf. Frazer, *Paus.* V, p. 273); on shield borne by Patroclus.

CLV. INSCRIPTION 'ΑΧΙΛΛΕΨ AND PANTHER. *A. r. f.*—Amphora (Brit. Mus. E 280; publ. *Mon.* X, pl. 9, 1; cf. *Ann.* 1874, p. 205); on shield of Achilles.

CLVI. INSCRIPTION ΠΥΡ (monogram). Coin of Pyrrhus (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, VI, p. 113, Nos. 36–39, pl. 20, No. 16).

CLVII. INSCRIPTION ONΠ. *A. b. f.*—Cylix (cf. *Bull. Nap.* VI, p. 59); on shield of warrior.

INSCRIPTION ΝΓΟΕ AND HORSE. See No. CXXXVIII.

INSCRIPTION Στεων? AND HORSE (hind part). See No. CXLIII.

CLVIII. INSCRIPTION "Ιππων καλός AND MAN'S HEAD. *A. r. f.* — Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 7); on shield of warrior.

CLIX. INSCRIPTION καλός AND LION. *A. r. f.* — Fragment of cylix (Berlin, 2280; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 239, pl. 24, 2); on shield of warrior.

CLX. INSCRIPTION ὁ πα(ῖς) καλ(ῆς) AND SCORPION. *A. r. f.* — Cylix (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 66, pl. 293); on shield of warrior.

CLXI. INSCRIPTION Εὐφρατος καλός AND WHEEL. *A. b. f.* — Panath. amphora (Brit. Mus. B 134; publ. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. A, 5); on shield of Athena.

CLXII. INSCRIPTION Νίκη καλή AND WREATH (ivy). *A. r. f.* — Amphora (Boston; cf. *Trustees' Report*, 1895, p. 19, 13); on shield of Athena.

INSCRIPTION ON AND BIRD. See No. XLIII.

INSCRIPTION Κηφισοφ(ῶν) καλ(ῆς) AND CHARIOT-BOX. See No. LXXIII.

INSCRIPTION ΗΘ AND CLUB. See No. LXXVI.

INSCRIPTION (κα)λός? AND CUTTLE-FISH. See No. XCI.

INSCRIPTION (κα)λόν? AND EAGLE WITH SERPENT. See No. CV.

INSCRIPTION καλός AND HELMET. See No. CXXXIII.

INSCRIPTION καλός AND HORSE. See No. CXXXVII.

INSCRIPTION Πῖθων καλή AND HORSE (winged). See No. CXL. Cf. also the inscriptions καλός ὄϊνος (*Cat. Magnoncourt*, 30) and ΚΝΤΟΙ (Inghirami, *Vas. Fittili*, 261), noted by Jahn, *Vasensammlung zu München*, p. 361.

CLXIII. LADDER. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Berlin, 1852; publ. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* p. 25, pl. 15, 16, 4); on shield of warrior.

CLXIV. LEAF.¹ *A. b. f.* — 1. Panath. amphora (Munich, 787); on shield of Athena. Cf. Munich, 475. — 2. Amphora (Louvre; publ. Millingen, *Anc. Uned. Mon.* p. 91, pl. 38); on shield of Cynus. — 3. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 156; publ. Torr, *Rhodes in Anc. Times*, pl. 6 B); on shield of Geryon. — 4. Hydria (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 86, pl. 314); on shield of Amazon. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 154. — 5. Hydria (Munich, 445); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 479, 723, 724, 1125, 1210; Berlin, 1704, 1784, 1807, 1907; Brit. Mus. B 143, B 291, B 336, B 380, B 452, B 530; Naples, 2787; Fitzwilliam Mus. 53. *A. r. f.* — 6. Cylix, attrib. to Euphronios (Brit. Mus. E 45; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 118, pl. 13); on shield of Amazon (Euope). Cf. Brit. Mus. E 295. — 7. Cylix, Pamphaios (Brit. Mus.

¹ The leaf which appears so frequently on shields has been variously described. Jahn calls it parsley (Eppichblatt); Furtwängler, plane (Platanenblatt); Smith, lupine. I am inclined to agree with Gardner and Klein in calling it a fig-leaf.

E 12; publ. *Archaeologia*, XXIX, pl. 16; Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 136, pl. 221, 222; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 94, 20); on shield of young man. — 8. Cylix, Euphronios (formerly Coll. Canino; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 141, pl. 224, 225; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 141, 8); on shield of warrior Cf. Munich, 1020; Brit. Mus. E 168, E 818.

LEAF AND BALL. See No. IX.

CLXV. LEG (bent). *A. b. f.* — 1. Panath. amphora (Munich, 496); on shield of Athena. Cf. Munich, 488, 497; Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. B, 23, 35. — 2. Hydria (Munich, 65; publ. *Mon.* I, pl. 34; Inghirami, *Gall. Omer.* III, pl. 80; cf. *Ann.* 1831, p. 361); on shield of Athena. Cf. Munich, 395, 529, 643; *Él. Cér.* I, pl. 90. — 3. Amphora (Taranto; publ. Millingen-Reinach, p. 102, pl. 20); on shield of Amphiaraus. — 4. Amphora (Berlin, 1867; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 101, pl. 198); on shield of soul (of Patroclus?) hovering over burial mound. — 5. Amphora (Berlin, 1857; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gefässe*, pl. 30, 12); on shield of warrior. Cf. Boston, 312; Munich, 53, 56, 114, 143, 441, 445, 451, 483, 529, 695, 717, 718, 721, 766, 1118, 1142, 1215, 1217, 1259, 1273, 1331; Berlin, 1852, 1868, 1926; Naples, 2533, 2764, 2841, SA 10, SA 141, RC 197, RC 199; Brit. Mus. B 183, B 207, B 252, B 291, B 292, B 294, B 302, B 314, B 316, B 323, B 333, B 337, B 343, B 360, B 521, B 522, B 570, B 572, B 657; Micali, *Storia*, pl. 96, 1. *A. r. f.* — 6. Hydria (Naples, SA 32); on shield of warrior.

LEG (bent) AND BALLS (three). See No. XXIX.

CLXVI. LION. *A. b. f.* — 1. Panath. amphora (Brit. Mus. B 140); on shield of Athena. — 2. Cylix (Munich, 709); on shield of giant (Enceladus?). — 3. Amphora (Naples, SA 16); on shield of warrior in contest with Heracles. — 4. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 154; publ. *Mon.* X, pl. 53, 2; cf. *Ann.* 1878, p. 227); on shield of Iolaus. — 5. Cyathus (Naples, 2465); on shield of Amazon. — 6. Cylix (Berlin, 2060; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch.* p. 5, pl. 4 and 5); on shield (pelta) of hero in train of Athena. — 7. Crater (Vienna, 237; publ. *Cat.* pl. 4, p. 30); on Boet. shield of warrior. — 8. Amphora (Munich, 394); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 1327; Brit. Mus. B 184. *A. r. f.* — 9. Amphora (formerly Coll. Feoli; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* I, p. 66, pl. 18); on shield of Athena. — 10. Stamnos (Brit. Mus. E 443; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* I, p. 192, pl. 64); on shield of giant. Cf. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, pl. 84. — 11. Aryballos (Berlin, 2326; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 137, pl. 8, 1); on shield of Achilles. Cf. Brit. Mus. E 380. — 12. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 8); on shield of Cyncus. — 13. Hydria (Brit. Mus. E 196; publ. *Cat.* III, pl. 7); on shield of Agamemnon. — 14. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 16); on Boeot. shield of Ajax. — 15. Amphora (Brit. Mus. E 336); on shield of Ajax. — 16. Cylix, Euxitheos and Oltos (Berlin, 2264; publ. Inghirami, *Gall. Omer.* II, pl. 254-256; Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.* pl. 18, 2, 3; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 135, 1); on shield of Aeneas. — 17. Cylix, Hieron (Acerra, Coll. Spinelli; publ. *Gaz. Arch.* 1880, p. 57, pl. 8; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 172, 24); on shield of Aeneas. — 18. Cylix, Brygos (Louvre; publ. Heydemann, *Iliupersis*, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 180, 4); on shield of Neoptolemus. — 19. Calpis (Naples, 2422; publ. *Mus. Borb.* XIV, pl. 41); on shield of Theseid (?). — 20. Amphora (Arezzo; publ. *Mon.* VIII, pl. 6; cf. *Ann.* 1864,

p. 239); on shield of Telamon. — 21. Cantharus, Duris (Brussels; publ. *Nuove Mem.* p. 393, pl. 11; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 160, 22); on shield of Amazon. Cf. Brit. Mus. E 167; Naples, 2613. — 22. Cantharus (Vienna, 346); on shield of warrior in battle with Amazons. Cf. Brit. Mus. E 253; Naples, SA 688, RC 161; Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, pl. 329, 330; Gargiulo, *Raccolta*, I, pl. 117. — 23. Cylix, Duris (Bonn, Coll. Löschcke; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 158, 17); on shield of warrior. — 24. Cylix, Euxitheos and Oltos (Berlin, 2264; publ. Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.* p. 427, pl. 18, 3; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 135, 1); on shield of youth. Cf. *Mon.* X, pl. 23, 24, 3. — 25. Cylix, Cachrylion and Euphronios (Munich, 337; publ. Guignaut, *Rel. de l'Ant.* pl. 180 bis; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 138, 3); on shield of youth. — 26. Scyphus, attrib. to Brygos (Vienna, 328; publ. *Cat.* p. 46, fig. 25); on shield hanging on wall. — 27. Cylix, (Berlin, 2307; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 32, pl. 261); on shield of hoplitodromos. Cf. Brit. Mus. E 77, E 124, E 576; Naples, 2418, 3137, SA 127, SA 700; *Ann.* 1875, pl. FG. *Athenian, with white ground.* — 28. Lekythos (Boston; publ. *Am. Jour. Arch.* 1886, p. 394, pl. 11); on shield of warrior.

LION AND INSCRIPTION *καλός*. See No. CLIX.

CLXVII. LION (winged). Relief (Taranto; publ. *Jahreshefte d. Oester. Arch. Inst. in Wien*, I, p. 22, fig. 24); on shield of warrior.

CLXVIII. LION (fore part). *Cor.* — 1. Celebe (Louvre, E 635; publ. Pottier, *Vases Ant. du Louvre*, p. 54, pl. 49); on shield of warrior. *A. b. f.* — 2. Amphora (Munich, 311); on shield of Athena. — 3. Oenochoe (Brit. Mus. B 484); on shield of giant (Polybotes). — 4. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 326; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1856, p. 230, pl. 91); on shield of warrior defending Troilus (Aeneas? Hector?). — 5. Cylix (Berlin, 1797); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 207. *Other monuments.* — 6. Sarcophagus from Clazomenae (Smyrna; publ. *J. H. S.* 1883, p. 1, pl. 31); on shield of warrior.

CLXIX. LION (fore part, winged). *A. b. f.* — Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 329); on Boeot. shield of Ares.

CLXX. LION'S HEAD. *A. b. f.* — 1. Cylix (Brit. Mus. B 382); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 601, 48. *A. r. f.* — 2. Cylix, attrib. to Duris (Baltimore; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 212, pl. 22, 2); on shield of Amazon. *Other monuments.* — 3. Pithos with relief decoration (Vienna, 207; publ. *Cat.* p. 19, fig. 12); on shields of four warriors. — 4. Bronze statue (Berlin; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 23, pl. 1); on shield of warrior.

CLXXI. LION (attacking stag). *A. b. f.* — 1. Panath. amphora (Leyden; publ. *Mon.* I, pl. 21, and X, pl. 48 n; cf. *Ann.* 1830, p. 209; 1878, p. 282); on shield of Athena. *A. r. f.* — 2. Cylix, Duris (Vienna, 325; publ. *Mon.* VIII, pl. 41; cf. *Ann.* 1867, p. 140; Klein, *M.* p. 156, 13); on Boeot. shield of Ulysses.

LION AND GORGONEION AND SERPENT. See No. CXXIV.

CLXXII. LIONS (two) AND PANTHER'S HEAD. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Munich, 1295); on Boeot. shield of warrior.

CLXXXIII. LIONS (two) AND STAR. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 197; publ. *Cat. of Vases*, II, pl. 6); on Boeot. shield of Ares.

CLXXXIV. MAN. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (formerly Coll. Feoli; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 91, pl. 194; *Mon.* III, pl. 50; cf. *Ann.* 1843, p. 60); on shield of Diomedes.

CLXXXV. MAN (ithyphallic). *Cor.* — Aryballos (Berlin, 1066); on shield of warrior.

CLXXXVI. MAN WITH BODY ENDING IN LARGE PHALLUS. *Cor.* — Celebe (Berlin, 1147; publ. *Mon.* II, pl. 38 B; Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.* I, p. 515, pl. 22; cf. *Ann.* 1836, p. 310); on shield of horseman.

CLXXXVII. MAN ARMED WITH CLUB AND SKIN. *A. r. f.* — Cylix, attrib. to Hieron (Florence; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 273, pl. 28; cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, p. 248; Klein, *M.* p. 163); on shield of warrior.

CLXXXVIII. MAN ARMED WITH SHIELD AND HELMET. *A. r. f.* — Cylix (Berlin, 2307; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 32, pl. 261); on shields of four hoplitodromi. Cf. Brit. Mus. E 483 (2 ex.).

CLXXXIX. MAN ARMED WITH SHIELD, HELMET AND SPEAR. *A. r. f.* — Celebe (Naples, 3115); on shield of warrior.

CLXXX. MAN WITH *halteres* IN HANDS. *A. r. f.* — Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 22); on shield of athlete.

CLXXXI. MAN WITH TRUMPET. *A. r. f.* — 1. Amphora (formerly Coll. Feoli; publ. *Mon.* I, pl. 35; cf. *Ann.* 1831, p. 380; on shield of Achilles. — 2. Amphora (Vienna, 332; publ. *Cat.* p. 50, pl. 6); on shield of warrior. *Other monuments.* — 3. Polychrome lekythos (Terranova; publ. Benndorf, *Gr. u. Siz. Vasenb.* p. 99, pl. 46, 1); on shield of Aeneas.

CLXXXII. MAN SUPPORTING COMRADE IN BATTLE. Silver vase (Munich; publ. Heydemann, *Iliupersis*, pl. 2, 4); on shield of warrior.

CLXXXIII. MAN'S HEAD. *A. r. f.* — Hydria (Florence; publ. *Él. Cér.* II, pl. 80; cf. Gerhard, *Arch. Zeit.* 1850, p. 225); on shield of Selinicus.

CLXXXIV. MAN'S HEAD WITH RAYS (Helios?). Terra cotta shield from a grave (Boston). Cf. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1899, p. 228, fig. 2.

CLXXXV. MAN'S HEAD AND STARS (two). Terra cotta shield from a grave (Boston).

MAN'S HEAD AND INSCRIPTION "Ἰππων καλός. See No. CLVIII.

CLXXXVI. MEN (two — Harmodius and Aristogeiton). *A. b. f.* — Panath. amphora (Brit. Mus. B 605; publ. *Mon.* X, pl. 48 d; cf. *Ann.* 1877, p. 328); on shield of Athena.

CLXXXVII. MULE. *A. r. f.* — 1. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 47); on shield of Ares. — 2. Cylix (Paris?; publ. *Ann.* 1877, p. 246, pl. N); on shield of Ajax. — 3. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 35); on shield of warrior fighting with Pegasi. — 4. Amphora (St. Petersburg; publ. *Ann.* 1868, p. 266, pl. I); on shield of youth.

CLXXXVIII. MULE'S HEAD. *Arg.*—Lekythos (Brit. Mus.; publ. *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 167, pl. 1 and 2); on shield of warrior.

CLXXXIX. OWL. *Arg.*—1. Lekythos (Brit. Mus.; publ. *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 167, pl. 1 and 2); on shield of warrior. *A. b. f.*—2. Panath. amphora (Naples, RC 174; publ. *Bull. Nap.* V, pl. 10, 20); on shield of Athena. Cf. Munich, 449; Brit. Mus. B 345, B 552; Gerhard, *A. V.* III, pl. 228, 4. *Other monuments.*—3. Coin of Thebes (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, VIII, p. 74, No. 56, pl. 13, No. 7); on Boeot. shield.

CXC. PANTHER. *A. b. f.*—1. Panath. amphora (Munich, 495); on shield of Athena. Cf. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. B 5 and 21.—2. Hydria (Berlin, 1897); on Boeot. shield of warrior. *A. r. f.*—3. Amphora (Berlin, 2353; publ. Genick, *Gr. Keramik*, pl. 3); on shield of warrior fighting with Amazon.—4. Cylix (Naples, 2634—Heydemann interprets the device as a tiger; publ. *Mon.* II, pl. 15; cf. *Ann.* 1835, p. 70); on shield of youth.

CXCI. PANTHER (female). *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Berlin, 1867; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 101, pl. 198, 3, 4); on shield of Achilles.

CXCII. PANTHER AND SERPENT AND SILENUS HEAD (projecting from shield). *A. b. f.*—Amphora, Exekias (Rome, Mus. Gregor.; publ. *Mon.* II, pl. 22; cf. *Ann.* 1835, p. 228; Klein, *M.* p. 39, 4); on Boeot. shield of Achilles.

PANTHER AND EAGLE AND ROSETTE. See No. CVII.

PANTHER AND INSCRIPTION 'Αχιλλεύς. See No. CLV.

CXCIII. PANTHER (fore part). *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Berlin, 1860; publ. Micali, *Storia*, III, p. 162, pl. 93; *Él. Cér.* I, p. 16, pl. 10); on shield of giant.—2. Amphora (Berlin, 1710; publ. Micali, *Storia*, III, p. 138, pl. 83); on shield of Amazon.—3. Amphora, Amasis (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. DeLuynes, *Vases*, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 43, 1); on shield of warrior. Cf. Berlin, 1908.

CXCIV. PANTHER'S HEAD. *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Munich, 638); on shield of Athena. Cf. *Él. Cér.* III, pl. 13.—2. Cylix (Munich, 418); on Boeot. shield of Amazon.—3. Amphora, Amasis (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. DeLuynes, *Vases*, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 43, 1); on shield of warrior. Cf. Berlin, 1797; Munich, 539, 1217; Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, pl. 258. *Other monuments.*—4. Corinthian pinax (Berlin, 848); on shields of two warriors.

CXCV. PANTHER'S HEAD AND RINGS (two). *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Munich, 317); on Boeot. shield of warrior.

CXCVI. PANTHER'S HEAD AND SERPENTS (two). *A. b. f.*—Hydria (Munich, 409); on Boeot. shield of warrior. Cf. Berlin, 1896; Brit. Mus. B 243.

PANTHER'S HEAD AND BALLS (two). See No. XIX.

PANTHER'S HEAD AND DOVE. See No. CI.

PANTHER'S HEAD AND DOVES (two). See No. CII.

PANTHER'S HEAD AND EAGLES (two). See No. CVIII.

PANTHER'S HEAD AND LIONS (two). See No. CLXXII.

CXCVII. PANTHER'S HEADS (two) AND SERPENT (projecting from shield). *A. b. f.* — Amphora, Nicosthenes (Vienna, 232; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 61, 29); on shield of warrior.

CXCVIII. PANTHERS (two females). *A. b. f.* — Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 324; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, p. 30, pl. 92); on Boeot. shield of Achilles.

CXCIX. PANTHERS (two) AND ROSETTE. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Vienna, 228); on Boeot. shield of Amazon.

PANTHERS (four) AND GORGONEION AND ROSETTES (two). See No. CXXV.

CC. PATTERN (palm-leaf ornament). *A. b. f.* — 1. Panath. amphora (Munich, 498; publ. *Mon.* I, pl. 22, 4 a and b; cf. *Ann.* 1830, p. 209); on shield of Athena. — 2. Deinos (Munich, 781; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 24, pl. 254, 255, 1 — the device is not reproduced); on shield of warrior. *From Naucratis.* — 3. Fragment of cylix (Brit. Mus. B 600, 45); on Boeot. shield of warrior. *It.* — 4. Medallion crater (Naples, 3254; publ. *Mon.* IX, pl. 32, 33; cf. *Ann.* 1871, p. 166); on shield of warrior in train of Achilles. — 5. Medallion crater (Naples, 3253; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1857, p. 50, pl. 103); on shield of Amazon.

PATTERN (palm-leaf ornament) AND FLOWER. See No. CXIII.

CCI. PATTERN (polyp ornament). *Geom.* — 1. Crater, Aristonophos (Rome, Mus. Cap.; publ. *Mon.* IX, pl. 4; cf. *Ann.* 1869, p. 157; Klein, *M.* p. 27); on shield of warrior fighting from ship. *Rhod.* — 2. Aryballos (formerly Coll. Froehner; publ. Salzmänn, *Néc. de Camiros*, pl. 55, 1); on shield of warrior. *Arg.* — 3. Lekythos (Brit. Mus.; publ. *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 167, pl. 1 and 2); on shield of warrior. *Cor.* — 4. Celebe (Louvre, E 638; publ. Pottier, *Vases Ant. du Louvre*, p. 57, pl. 50); on shield of Daiphonous. — 5. Celebe (Berlin, 1147; publ. Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bilder*, p. 515, pl. 22, 1; *Mon.* II, pl. 38 B; cf. *Ann.* 1836, p. 310); on shields of three warriors. Cf. Berlin, 1655; Louvre, E 629, E 630, E 635; Naples, 683; Boston (P. 6511). *Chalc.*¹ — 6. Amphora (publ. *Mon.* I, pl. 51; cf. *Ann.* 1833, p. 224; Dumont et Chaplain, *Cér. de la Grèce Propre*, I, p. 278, 4); on shield of Aeneas. *A. b. f.* — 7. Amphora (Berlin, 1686; publ. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* p. 5, pl. 2); on shield of Athena. — 8. Amphora (Boston); on shield of warrior. *A. r. f.* — 9. Cylix, Duris (Louvre; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 159, 20); on shield of warrior.

CCII. PATTERN (wave ornament). *Cor.* — 1. Amphora (Boston); on shield of warrior. *It.* — 2. Nestoris (Brit. Mus. F 178); on shield of Athena.

¹ A vase which closely resembles the Chalcidian vases is the amphora (publ. *Mon.* VI and VII, pl. 78; cf. *Ann.* 1863, p. 243) which Klein (*Euphronios*, p. 72) very probably assigns to an Eretrian artist. On this vase, the polyp ornament appears upon the shield of Zeus, and also upon the shield of Enceladus.

CCIII. PATTERN (palmette, with wings?). *A. b. f.* — Amphora, Amasis (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. DeLuynes, *Vases*, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 43, 1); on shield of warrior.

CCIV. PENTAGRAM. *A. b. f.* — 1. Panath. amphora (publ. *Mon.* I, pl. 22, 11; cf. *Ann.* 1830, p. 219); on shield of Athena. — 2. Amphora (Munich, 729); on shield of warrior. *Other monuments.* — 3. Coin of Pitane (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, XIV, p. 172, Nos. 15-17, pl. 34, No. 10).

CCV. PHALLUS (winged). *A. r. f.* — Hydria (Brit. Mus. E 167; publ. D' Hancarville, IV, pl. 50; cf. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 100); on shield of supplementary figure in battle of Heracles and Amazons.

CCVI. PHALLUS (winged, with tail). *A. r. f.* — Cylix (Berlin, 2307; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 32, pl. 261); on shield of hoplitodromos.

CCVII. PHALLI (three, winged). *A. r. f.* — Stamnos (Berlin, 2181); on shield of warrior.

PITCHER AND BALLS (four). See No. XXXII.

CCVIII. PROW OF SHIP. *A. b. f.* — 1. Hydria (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, p. 40, pl. 93); on shield of Athena. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 316. — 2. Hydria (Fitzwilliam Mus. 55; publ. *Cat.* pl. 17, p. 30); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 343. *A. r. f.* — 3. Cylix, attrib. to Chelis (Boston, 393); on shield of warrior.

CCIX. QUAILS (two). *A. r. f.* — 1. Cylix, Cachrylion (Brit. Mus. E 40; publ. Murray, *Designs*, No. 25; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 126, 6); on shield (pelta) of Amazon. — 2. Cylix (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* I, p. 179, pl. 50, 5); on shield (pelta) of Silenus.

CCX. RAKE. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Munich, 1121); on shield of warrior.

CCXI. RAM. *A. r. f.* — Cylix (Naples?; publ. *Mon.* II, pl. 44a; cf. *Ann.* 1837, p. 189); on shield of warrior.

CCXII. RAM WITH BOY ON HIS BACK. Fragment of marble statue (Olympia; publ. *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, III, p. 30, pl. 6, 5 and 6, and fig. 30; *Ausgrab. z. Olympia*, V, p. 13, pl. 19; cf. Treu, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 48; Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 111; Furtwängler, *Preuss. Jahrb.* LI, p. 382); on shield of warrior (Eperastus? Phormis?).

CCXIII. RAM'S HEAD. *A. b. f.* — Cylix (Brit. Mus. B 382; publ. *Musée Blacas*, p. 19, pl. 5 and 6); on shield of warrior.

CCXIV. RING. *A. b. f.* — 1. Lekythos (Brit. Mus. B 573; publ. D' Hancarville, I, pl. 60, 61); on shield of warrior. *Other monuments.* — 2. Mosaic (Sparta; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 127, pl. 6, 1; cf. *Ath. Mitt.* 1877, p. 429, No. 280; on shield of Achilles.

CCXV. RING AND ROSETTES (two). *A. b. f.* — Pitcher (Munich, 681); on Boeot. shield of Amazon.

RING AND BALLS (two). See No. XX.

CCXVI. RINGS (two). *A. b. f.* — Cylix (Berlin, 1807); on shield of warrior.

RINGS (two) AND BALL. See No. x.

RINGS (two) AND BULL'S HEAD. See No. LXII.

RINGS (two) AND CRESCENT. See No. LXXXI.

RINGS (two) AND PANTHER'S HEAD. See No. CXCV.

CCXVII. RINGS (three). *A. b. f.* — 1. Amphora (Berlin, 1836); on shield of Athena. — 2. Amphora (Vienna, 228); on shield of Amazon. — 3. Oenochoe (Boston, 352); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 366, B 482. *A. r. f.* — 4. Amphora (Brit. Mus. E 303); on shield of giant. — 5. Cylix, Duris (Boston; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 206, pl. 21); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. E 7.

RINGS (three) AND CRESCENT. See No. LXXXII.

CCXVIII. RINGS (four). *A. r. f.* — Cylix, attrib. to Onesimos (Edinburgh; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 515, pl. 55); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. E 818.

RINGS (four) AND BULL'S HEAD. See No. LXIII.

CCXIX. ROSETTE. *Cor.* — 1. Celebe (Louvre, E 638; publ. Pottier, *Vases Ant. du Louvre*, p. 57, pl. 50); on shield of Hector. — 2. Aryballos (Vienna, 55; publ. *Ann.* 1866, p. 275, pl. Q); on shield of Aeneas. — 3. Amphora (Paris?; publ. *Mon.* VI, pl. 33; cf. *Ann.* 1859, p. 243); on shield of Ulysses. — 4. Aryballos (Berlin, 1074); on shield of warrior. *A. b. f.* — 5. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 162); on shield of Athena. — 6. Cylix (Vienna, 285); on shield of giant. — 7. Amphora (Munich, 313); on Boeot. shield of Achilles. — 8. Deinos (Vienna, 235); on Boeot. shield of Memnon. — 9. Oenochoe (Munich, 1118); on shield of warrior carrying old man (Aeneas?). — 10. Amphora (Vienna, 224); on Boeot. shield of warrior. *A. r. f.* — 11. Situla (Brit. Mus. F 83; publ. Gargiulo, *Raccolta*, pl. 122); on shield of Athena. *It.* — 12. Nestoris (Brit. Mus. F 175; publ. Millingen-Reinach, p. 121, pl. 53; Panofka, *Bilder Ant. Lebens*, pl. 19, fig. 9); on shield of Paris. — 13. Amphora (London, Sloan Mus.; publ. Millin-Reinach, p. 57, pl. II. 25); on shields (peltae) of two Amazons. — 14. Amphora (publ. Millin-Reinach, p. 83, pl. II. 70); on shields of two warriors. Cf. Millin-Reinach, pl. II. 73; Millingen-Reinach, pl. 37; Brit. Mus. F 212; *Arch. Zeit.* 1853, pl. 54. *Other monuments.* — 15. Coin of Tyndaris (Naples; publ. *Mus. Borb.* IX, pl. 45, No. 12); on shield of warrior. — 16. Lead statuette (publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1854, p. 217, pl. 65, 8); on shield of warrior.

CCXX. ROSETTE AND SERPENTS (two). *A. b. f.* — 1. Amphora (Berlin, 1842; publ. Overbeck, *Arch. Zeit.* 1851, p. 345, pl. 30; *Gall. Her. Bild.* p. 519, pl. 22, 3); on Boeot. shield of Memnon. Cf. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, pl. 130. — 2. Lekythos (Brit. Mus. B 634); on Boeot. shield of Amazon.

CCXXI. ROSETTE AND THUNDERBOLT. *A. b. f.* — 1. Panath. amphora (publ. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. B 25); on shield of Athena. — 2. Cylix (Brit. Mus. B 426;

publ. *Cat. of Vases*, II, p. 19, fig. 28; *Mon.* IX, pl. 11; cf. *Ann.* 1869, p. 245); on Boeot. shield of Amazon.

ROSETTE AND BALLS (four). See No. XXXIII.

ROSETTE AND BIRDS (two). See No. XLVII.

ROSETTE AND PANTHERS (two). See No. CXCIX.

ROSETTE AND EAGLE AND PANTHER. See No. CVII.

CCXXII. ROSETTES (two) AND SILENUS HEAD (projecting from shield). *A. r. f.* — Amphora, Euthymides (Munich, 378; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 30, pl. 188; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 194, 2); on shield of Hector.

ROSETTES (two) AND RING. See No. CCXV.

ROSETTES (two) AND GORGONEION AND PANTHERS (four). See No. CXXV.

CCXXIII. ROSETTES (three). *A. b. f.* — 1. Amphora (Munich, 97); on Boeot. shield of warrior. *Other monuments.* — 2. Praenestine cista (publ. *Mon. Suppl.* pl. 19, 20); on shield hanging on wall.

CCXXIV. SCORPION. *A. b. f.* — 1. Volute crater (Munich, 538); on shield of Amazon. — 2. Amphora (Munich, 330; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1854, p. 241, pl. 67); on shield of warrior. Cf. *Brit. Mus.* B 200. *A. r. f.* — 3. Cylix (publ. Gerhard, *Gr. u. Etrusk. Trinksch.* pl. AB); on shield of giant. — 4. Amphora (*Brit. Mus.* E 329); on shield which Thetis brings to Achilles. — 5. ? (Arezzo; publ. *Mon.* VIII, pl. 6; cf. *Ann.* 1864, p. 239); on shield of Amazon. — 6. Amphora, Andocides (Louvre; cf. *Am. Jour. Arch.* 1896, p. 8; Klein, *M.* p. 190, 5); on shield of warrior. — 7. Cylix, attrib. to Onesimos (Rome, Coll. Castellani; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 509, pl. 54); on shield of warrior. Cf. *Brit. Mus.* E 385, E 646; Naples, SA 201; Micali, *Storia*, pl. 85.

SCORPION AND INSCRIPTION $\delta \pi \alpha(\iota) \kappa \alpha \lambda(\delta) \varsigma$. See No. CLX.

CCXXV. SERPENT. *Cor.* — 1. Amphora (*Brit. Mus.* B 24); on shield of warrior. — 2. Hydria (Louvre, E 642; publ. Pottier *Vases Ant. du Louvre*, p. 58, pl. 50); on Boeot. shield of warrior. *A. b. f.* — 3. Panath. amphora (Berlin, 1833; publ. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. A 7); on shield of Athena. Cf. *Brit. Mus.* B 133, B 137, B 143, B 242; Berlin, 1831; Munich, 325, 544, 1186, 1219; Naples, 2743, 2745, SA 693, RC 234; Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. B 11; *Mon.* I, pl. 22, 3a. — 4. Amphora (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* I, p. 25, pl. 5); on shield of Ares. — 5. Amphora (Munich, 70); on shield of giant. Cf. Munich, 598. — 6. Amphora (*Brit. Mus.* B 202); on shield of Cycnus. Cf. *Brit. Mus.* B 529. — 7. Lekythos (Berlin, 1999); on shield of Geryon. Cf. Munich, 407; *Brit. Mus.* B 310. — 8. Lekythos (*Brit. Mus.* B 542); on shield of Achilles. — 9. Amphora (Fitzwilliam Mus. 44; publ. *Cat.* pl. 7, p. 17); on shield of Amazon. Cf. Berlin, 1848; Munich, 426, 492, 538, 1029; *Brit. Mus.* B 358; Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. 17. — 10. Amphora (Boston, 313); on shield of warrior. Cf. Berlin, 1746, 1859, 1864; Munich, 43, 168, 541, 589, 591, 717, 751, 1196, 1244, 1333, 1334; *Brit. Mus.* B 151, B 183, B 292, B 303, B 343, B 572, B 608,

B 618; Naples, 2505, SA 30, RC 197; Millingen, *Anc. Uned. Mon.* p. 91, pl. 38; Millin-Reinach, pl. II. 19. *A. r. f.* — 11. Cylix, Erginos and Aristophanes (Berlin, 2531; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gefässe*, p. 3, pl. 2, 3; Overbeck, *Atlas z. Kunstmyth.* pl. 5, 3abc; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 184, 1); on shield of Ares; also on shields of two giants. — 12. Stamnos (Munich, 415; publ. *Mon.* VI, pl. 27 A; cf. *Ann.* 1859, p. 60); on shield of Athena. Cf. Brit. Mus. E 168; Naples, 3174; *Él. Cér.* I, pl. 77. — 13. Cylix, attrib. to Brygos (Brit. Mus. E 67; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gefässe*, I, pl. D); on shield of Ares. — 14. Cylix, attrib. to Brygos (Berlin, 2293; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch.* p. 20, pl. 10, 11; Overbeck, *Atlas z. Kunstmyth.* pl. 4, 12ab); on shield of giant. — 15. Crater (Brit. Mus. E 470; publ. Raoul-Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.* I, p. 321, pl. 60; *Arch. Zeit.* 1848, pl. 14, 2); on shield of Ajax. — 16. Calpis (Naples, 2422; publ. Millin, *Peintures de Vases Gr.* I, pl. 25, 26; Inghirami, *Gall. Omer.* I, pl. 92); on shield of Aeneas. Cf. *Mon.* X, pl. 22. — 17. Crater (Brit. Mus. F 69; publ. D' Hancarville, III, pl. 118; Inghirami, *Gall. Hom.* II, pl. 166); on shield of Achilles, carried by Nereids. Cf. Brit. Mus. E 497. — 18. Amphora (publ. Millingen, *Anc. Uned. Mon.* p. 94, pl. 40); on shield of Memnon. — 19. Cylix, Pamphaios (Brit. Mus. E 12; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 136, pl. 221, 222; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 94, 20); on shield of Amazon. Cf. Munich, 264, 265. — 20. Amphora (Brit. Mus. E 282; publ. *J. H. S.* 1888, p. 11, pl. 3); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. E 7, E 17, E 254, E 310, E 596; Berlin, 2329, 2371, 2521, 2535, 2625, 2644; Munich, 282, 779, 807, 1020; Naples, 1884, 2616, 3150, SA 201, SA 263, SA 688; *Ann.* 1867, pl. F; 1875, pl. FG. *It.* — 21. Nestoris (Brit. Mus. F 177); on shield of Amazon. Cf. Naples, 2421, 3110. — 22. Crater (Berlin, 3302); on shield of warrior. Cf. Naples, 1764, 1928, 1949, 1981, 1986, 1988, 2856, 2918, 3082, 3154, 3195, 3212, 3239, 3242, 3247.

CCXXVI. SERPENT (projecting from shield). *A. b. f.* — 1. Cylix (Brit. Mus. B 426; publ. *Mon.* IX, pl. 11; cf. *Ann.* 1869, p. 245); on shield of Athena. — 2. Lekythos (Berlin, 2007); on shield of Heracles. — 3. Amphora (Vienna, 229); on shield of Achilles. Cf. Berlin, 3992. — 4. Amphora (Munich, 79; publ. Micali, *Storia*, pl. 78); on shield of warrior. Cf. Berlin, 1795; Munich, 637, 1060, 1073; Brit. Mus. B 152, B 231, B 364; Fitzwilliam Mus. 59.¹

CCXXVII. SERPENT AND STARS (two). *It.* — Nestoris (Naples, SA 20; publ. *Ann.* 1874, p. 69, pl. E); on shield of Athena.

SERPENT AND BALLS (two). See No. XXII.

SERPENT AND GORGONEION AND LION. See No. CXXIV.

SERPENT AND PANTHER AND SILENUS HEAD (projecting from shield). See No. CXCH.

SERPENT (projecting from shield) AND BALLS (four). See No. XXXIV.

SERPENT (projecting from shield) AND PANTHER'S HEADS (two). See No. CXCVII.

¹ Cf. also the (probably) Eretrian amphora (publ. *Mon.* VI and VII, pl. 78; cf. *Ann.* 1863, p. 243; Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 72); upon this vase, Polybotes has a serpent projecting from his shield.

CCXXVIII. SERPENTS (two). *A. b. f.*—1. Hydria (Naples, 2777); on Boeot. shield of warrior in train of Hercules. *Other monuments.*—2. Pompeian wall-painting (Naples; publ. *Mus. Borb.* X, pl. 18); on shield which Hephaestus is making (for Achilles?).

CCXXIX. SERPENTS (two) AND SILENUS HEAD. *A. b. f.*—Amphora, Exekias (Rome, Mus. Gregor.; publ. *Mon.* II, pl. 22; cf. *Ann.* 1835, p. 228; Klein, *M.* p. 39); on Boeot. shield of Ajax.

SERPENTS (two) AND BALL. See No. XI.

SERPENTS (two) AND PANTHER'S HEAD. See No. CXCVI.

SERPENTS (two) AND ROSETTE. See No. CCXX.

SERPENTS (two) AND GORGONEION AND BALLS (two). See No. XXVII.

CCXXX. SILENUS. *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Berlin, 1703; publ. *Él. Cér.* I, p. 220, pl. 66); on shield of Athena. *A. r. f.*—2. Crater (St. Petersburg; publ. *Compte Rendu*, 1867, p. 161, pl. 4); on shield of Dionysus.—3. Cylix, Pamphaios and Epiktetos (Louvre; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 102, 6); on shield of warrior.—4. Cylix, Cachrylion (publ. Noël des Verges, *L'Étrurie*, pl. 37; cf. Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 300; Klein, *M.* p. 130, 14); on shield of warrior.—5. Amphora, Euthymides (Munich, 374; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 184, 3); on shield of warrior.

CCXXXI. SILENUS WITH TRUMPET. *A. r. f.*—Lekythos (Brit. Mus. E 575); on shield of warrior.

CCXXXII. SILENUS HEAD. *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Munich, 718); on shield of Athena.—2. Oenochoe, Colchos (Berlin, 1732; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, p. 134, pl. 122, 123; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 48); on shield of Ares.—3. Amphora (Munich, 97); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 382.

CCXXXIII. SILENUS HEAD AND STARS (TWO). *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Berlin, 1718; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1861, p. 207, pl. 156); on Boeot. shield of warrior.

SILENUS HEAD AND SERPENTS (two). See No. CCXXIX.

CCXXXIV. SILENUS HEAD (projecting from shield). *Etruscan b. f.*—1. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 61); on shield of warrior. *A. b. f.*—2. Amphora, style of Andokides (Brit. Mus. B 193); on Boeot. shield of warrior playing with pessi (Achilles?).—3. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 158); on shield of Amazon.—4. Crater, Nikosthenes (Brit. Mus. B 364; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 65, 49); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 178, B 306.

SILENUS HEAD (projecting from shield) AND BALLS (two). See No. XXIII.

SILENUS HEAD (projecting from shield) AND ROSETTES (two). See No. CCXXII.

SILENUS HEAD (projecting from shield) AND PANTHER AND SERPENT. See No. CXCH.

CCXXXV. SIREN. *A. b. f.*—1. Panath. amphora (publ. *Mon.* I, pl. 22, 12; cf. *Ann.* 1830, p. 219); on shield of Athena. *Other monuments.*—2. Terra cotta shield (Bonn; cf. *Jahrb.* 1899, p. 119, note 7).

CCXXXVI. SPEAR HEAD. Coin of Mylasa (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, XIX, p. 128, Nos. 1-6, pl. 21, Nos. 11 and 12); on three Macedonian shields.

CCXXXVII. SPHINX. *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Fitzwilliam Mus. 44; publ. *Cat.* pl. 7, p. 17); on shield of Amazon.—2. Amphora (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, p. 43, pl. 96); on shield of warrior fighting Amazons.—3. Oenochoe (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 29, pl. 258); on shield of hoplitodromos.—4. Amphora (Berlin, 1708); on shield of warrior. Cf. Berlin, 1712. *A. r. f.*—5. Stamnos (Perugia; publ. *Ann.* 1858, p. 367, pl. Q); on shield of Achilles, carried by Nereid.—6. Amphora (formerly Coll. Canino; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 64, pl. 176); on shield of warrior.

CCXXXVIII. SQUARE. *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Munich, 1121); on shield of warrior.

CCXXXIX. STAG. *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Berlin, 1693); on shield of Athena.—2. Amphora, Amasis (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. DeLuynes, *Vases*, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 43, 1); on shield of warrior. *A. r. f.*—3. Celebe (Brit. Mus. E 476); on shield of warrior.

CCXL. STAG (fore part). *A. r. f.*—Crater (Naples, 2284); on shield of warrior.

CCXLI. STAG (fore part, winged). Coin of Lycia (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, XVIII, p. 28, No. 125, pl. 7, No. 10).

CCXLII. STAG (hind part). *A. r. f.*—Cylix (Munich, 437); on shield of warrior.

CCXLIII. STAG'S ANTLERS. *A. b. f.*—Cylix (Berlin, 1790); on shield of hoplitodromos.

STAG ATTACKED BY LION. See No. CLXXI.

CCXLIV. STAR. *Chalc.*—1. Cylix (Berlin, 1672); on shield of warrior.—2. Cylix (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 84, pl. 190, 191; cf. Dumont et Chaplain, *Cér. de la Grèce Propre*, I, p. 278, 3); on shield of warrior. *A. b. f.*—3. Panath. amphora (Brit. Mus. B 603; publ. *Mon.* X, pl. 47; cf. *Ann.* 1877, p. 294); on shield of Athena. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 141, B 144, B 166, B 604, B 612; Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. B 31.—4. Amphora (Naples, 2728); on shield of Enceladus.—5. Fragment of crater (Brit. Mus. B 365); on Boeot. shield of Hercules.—6. Amphora (Naples, 2725); on shield of Geryon. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 157.—7. Amphora (Boston); on shield of Amazon. Cf. Fitzwilliam Mus. 44.—8. Amphora, Amasis (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. DeLuynes, *Vases*, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 43, 1); on shield of warrior.—9. Cylix, Hermogenes (Fitzwilliam Mus. 63; publ. *Cat.* pl. 23, p. 38; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 83, 12); on shield of warrior.—10. Cylix (Berlin, 1795; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gefässe*, p. 2, pl. 1, 4-6); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 89, 112, 119, 514, 581, 1351, 1359, 1363; Berlin, 1704, 1708, 1797; Brit. Mus. B 169, B 331, B 608; Naples, 2473, 2507, 2750; Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, pl. 262, 1.—11. Cylix (Berlin, 1800); on Boeot. shield of warrior. *A. r. f.*—12. Amphora (Munich, 846; publ. Millingen-Reinach, p. 97, pl. 8); on

shield of Caeneus. — 13. Amphora (Naples, 1806); on shield of Achilles. — 14. Amphora (Leyden; publ. Millin-Reinach, p. 15, pl. I. 19); on shield of Memnon. — 15. Crater (St. Petersburg; publ. Millin-Reinach, p. 35, pl. I. 58; *Arch. Zeit.* 1854, p. 237, pl. 66, 3); on shield of warrior assailed by woman (Agamemnon or Polyphontes?). — 16. Oxybaphon (Naples, RC 148); on shield of warrior fighting with Amazons. — 17. Crater (Brit. Mus. F 41; publ. D' Hancarville, I, pl. 77); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 239, 807, 814; Berlin, 2332; Brit. Mus. E 72, E 235, F 40, F 45; Naples, 1822, 2301, 2409, 2413, 3130, SA 35, SA 389, SA 663. *It.* — 18. Crater (Brit. Mus. F 494); on shield of Athena. — 19. Amphora (publ. *Ann.* 1874, p. 45, pl. HI); on shield of Oenomaus. — 20. Amphora (formerly Coll. Campana; publ. *Ann.* 1849, p. 240, pl. I); on shield of warrior aiding Jason. — 21. Oxybaphon (Naples, 2865; publ. *Mus. Borb.* VIII, pl. 13); on shield of hero (Iolaus or Pirithous?). — 22. Calpis (Naples, 3241; publ. *Mus. Borb.* VI, pl. 5, 6); on shield of comrade of Heracles. — 23. Volute crater (Munich, 805; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1860, p. 73, pl. 139, 140); on shield of warrior fighting with centaurs. — 24. Rhyton (Brit. Mus. F 418); on shield of Amazon; also on shield of Greek. — 25. Volute crater (Naples, SA 709); on shield of warrior fighting with Amazons. — 26. Nestoris (Berlin, 3143; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1851, p. 329, pl. 29; Genick, *Gr. Keramik*, pl. 10); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. F 159, F 160, F 174, F 538; Naples, 873, 904, 1771, 1814, 1824, 1832, 1847, 1936, 1981, 1986, 2128, 2856, 2857, 2902, 2905, 2918, 3234, 3239, SA 3, SA 306, SA 380. *Other monuments.* — 27. Embossed lekythos (Brit. Mus. G 21); on shield of Athena. — 28. Engraved cista (Paris?; publ. Raoul-Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.* p. 90, pl. 20; Inghirami, *Gall. Omer*, II, pl. 215); on shield lying upon pyre of Patroclus; also upon shield of attendant Greek warrior. — 29. Engraved cista (publ. *Mon. Suppl.* pl. 17, 18); on shield of warrior fighting with centaur. — 30. Coin of Aptera in Crete (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, IX, p. 8, Nos. 1-3, pl. 2, Nos. 3-5); on shield of hero (Apteros or Pteras). — 31. Terra cotta shield (Athens; publ. *Jahrb.* 1899, p. 119, fig. 25).

CCXLV. STAR IN CIRCLE. *A. r. f.* — Crater (Brit. Mus. E 498); on shield of Athena.

CCXLVI. STAR IN CIRCLES (two). *It.* — Lekane (Brit. Mus. F 204); on shield of warrior.

CCXLVII. STAR AND WREATH (ivy). *A. r. f.* — Amphora (Brit. Mus. E 272; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 47, pl. 165, 3, 4); on shield of warrior attacking Amazon.

STAR AND BALLS (four). See No. XXXV.

STAR AND LIONS (two). See No. CLXXIII.

STARS (two) AND MAN'S HEAD. See No. CLXXXV.

STARS (two) AND SERPENT. See No. CCXXVII.

STARS (two) AND SILENUS HEAD. See No. CCXXXIII.

STARS (four) AND EAGLE WITH SERPENT. See No. CVI.

CCXLVIII. STORK. *A. r. f.*—Amphora (Naples, 3141); on shield of warrior. STRIPE AND BALLS (two). See No. XXIV.

CCXLIX. STRIPES (three). *A. b. f.*—Amphora (Munich, 729); on shield of warrior.

CCL. STRIPES (several). *A. r. f.*—Oxybaphon (Naples, 2914); on shield of warrior.

CCLI. SWAN. *Arg.*—1. Lekythos (Brit. Mus.; publ. *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 167, pl. 1 and 2); on shield of warrior. *Cor.*—2. Celebe (Louvre, E 627; publ. Potier, *Vases Ant. du Louvre*, p. 53, pl. 45); on shield of warrior. Cf. Berlin, 1057. *A. b. f.*—3. Amphora, Amasis (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. DeLuynes, *Vases*, pl. 1; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 43, 1); on shield of warrior. Cf. Berlin, 1795; Brit. Mus. B 165. *A. r. f.*—4. Cylix (Corneto; publ. *Mon.* XI, pl. 24; cf. *Ann.* 1880, p. 78); on shield of Cycnus.

CCLII. SWANS (three, heradically grouped). *A. b. f.*—Panath. amphora (publ. Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. B 15); on shield of Athena.

CCLIII. SWASTICA. *Cor.*—1. Oenochoe (Rome, Mus. Greg.; publ. *Mon.* II, pl. 38; cf. *Ann.* 1836, p. 306); on shield of Hector. *A. b. f.*—2. Panath. amphora (Berlin, 1701); on shield of Athena.

CCLIV. THUNDERBOLT. *A. b. f.*—1. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 156; publ. Torr, *Rhodes in Anc. Times*, pl. 6 B); on shield of Geryon.—2. Oenochoe (Brit. Mus. B 496); on shield of Amazon.—3. Pitcher (Naples, RC 190); on shield of warrior. Cf. Naples, SA 30; Gerhard, *A. V.* II, pl. 91.—4. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 317); on Boeot. shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 280, B 600, 35, B 656. *Other monuments.*—5. Coin of Coronata (Brit. Mus.; publ. *Cat. of Coins*, XII, p. 124, Nos. 1, 2, pl. 33, No. 11); on Macedonian shield.

THUNDERBOLT AND ROSETTE. See No. CCXXI.

CCLV. TORTOISE. *A. b. f.*—Cantharus (Naples, RC 199; publ. *Bull. Nap.* V, pl. 10, 14 and 15); on shield of warrior.

CCLVI. TRIDENT. *A. b. f.*—Cylix (Brit. Mus. B 399); on shield of warrior.

CCLVII. TRIPOD. *Cor.*—1. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 24); on shield of warrior. *A. b. f.*—2. Amphora (Berlin, 1857; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gefässe*, p. 30, pl. 15, 3, 4); on shield of Athena. Cf. Munich, 3, 270, 506, 617, 1117, 1279; Brit. Mus. B 145, B 196, B 208, B 217, B 599, 2; Vienna, 285; Naples, 2514; Gerhard, *A. V.* I, pl. 54; *Ann.* 1836, pl. F, 1.—3. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 156; publ. Torr, *Rhodes in Anc. Times*, pl. 6 B); on shield of Ares.—4. Amphora (Munich, 726); on shield of Enceladus.—5. Amphora (Berlin, 1856; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gefässe*, p. 29, pl. 30, 11); on Boeot. shield of Enceladus.—6. Amphora (Berlin, 1865; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* I, p. 191, pl. 63); on shield of giant. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 251, B 617.—7. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 239); on shield of Achilles.—8. Pelike (Naples, 3358; publ. *Ann.* 1865, p. 62, pl. F); on Boeot. shield

of Achilles. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 211; Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. 11. — 9. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 240; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 101, pl. 198, 1; Harrison, *Gk. Vase Paintings*, p. 13, pl. 2); on Boeot. shield of soul of Patroclus. — 10. Amphora (Munich, 81); on shield of warrior (Cycnus?) fighting with Heracles. Cf. Munich, 48; Gerhard, *A. V.* II, pl. 121. — 11. Amphora (Naples, SA 16); on Boeot. shield of warrior (Cycnus?) fighting with Heracles. — 12. Lekythos (Berlin, 1999); on shield of Geryon. Cf. Munich, 308. — 13. Fragment of crater (Brit. Mus. B 365); on shield of charioteer of Heracles (Iolaus?). — 14. Amphora (Munich, 1219); on shield of Amazon in battle with Heracles. Cf. Munich, 492, 1256; Brit. Mus. B 164, B 219, B 315, B 322, B 426, B 472, B 519, B 600, 43; Vienna, 241; Fitzwilliam Mus. 44, 51; Naples, 2750; Gerhard, *A. V.* I, pl. 43; IV, pl. 314; *E. C. V.* pl. 17, 3. — 15. Olpe (Munich, 687); on Boeot. shield of Amazon. — 16. Oenochoe (Brit. Mus. B 496); on shield of warrior fighting with Amazons. — 17. Cyathus (Munich, 1244); on shield of warrior slain by centaur. — 18. Hydria (Berlin, 1901; publ. Roulez, *Bull. de l'Academie de Bruxelles*, IX, No. 10); on shield of warrior in chariot. — 19. Amphora (Naples, SA 38); on Boeot. shield of warrior in chariot. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 330. — 20. Cylix, Hermogenes (Munich, 1082; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1885, p. 252, pl. 16, 2; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 83, 13); on shield of warrior in chariot scene. Cf. Fitzwilliam Mus. 63. — 21. Lekythos (Brit. Mus. B 541; publ. *Cat. of Vases*, II, p. 27, fig. 35); on shield of warrior casting lots. — 22. Amphora (Munich, 3; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* II, p. 102, pl. 114); on Boeot. shield of warrior playing with pessi (Achilles? Ajax?). Cf. Munich, 717; Berlin, 1870. — 23. Amphora (Munich, 91); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 94, 99, 451, 463, 471, 479, 532, 571, 576, 579, 589, 594, 615, 623, 639, 680, 714, 717, 718, 723, 726, 1215, 1269, 1301, 1334, 1357; Brit. Mus. B 151, B 169, B 170, B 189, B 199, B 212, B 224, B 255, B 274, B 323, B 348, B 360, B 426, B 571, B 657; Berlin, 1892; Vienna, 222, 237; Naples, 2475, 2496, 2705, SA 12, SA 144, SA 170, RC 199, RC 201; Boston, 311, 317; *Arch. Zeit.* 1853, pl. 60, 2; Benndorf, *Gr. u. Siz. Vasenb.* pl. 43, 4b. — 24. Amphora (Naples, 2460); on Boeot. shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 214. *A. r. f.* — 25. Cylix, Sosias (Berlin, 2278; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch.* p. 7, pl. 6, 7; *Mon.* I, pl. 25; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 148, 2); on shield of Patroclus. — 26. Cylix, attrib. to Euergides (Brit. Mus. E 20); on shield of Paris. — 27. Celebe (Brit. Mus. E 473); on shield of Caeneus. — 28. Cylix, attrib. to Euphronios (Brit. Mus. E 45; publ. Murray, *Designs*, p. 11, fig. 5; Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 118, pl. 13); on shield of Amazon (Andromache) in contest with Heracles. — 29. Volute crater (Naples, SA 688); on shield of warrior fighting with Amazons. — 30. Hydria (Brit. Mus. E 160); on shield of warrior casting lots. — 31. Cylix, Euphronios (publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 141, pl. 224, 225; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 141, 8); on shield of warrior arming. — 32. Cylix, attrib. to Euphronios (Paris, Cab. de Méd.; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 132, pl. 16); on shield of hoplitodromos. — 33. Cylix (Munich, 1242); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. E 22; Naples, SA 127; Berlin, 2288.

TRIPOD AND BALLS (two). See No. XXV.

TRIPOD AND BALLS (two) AND INSCRIPTION A. See No. XXVI.

CCLVIII. TRISKELE. *A. b. f.* — 1. Panath. amphora (Naples, 3383); on shield of Athena. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 135, B 142, B 198; Gerhard, *E. C. V.* pl. B 27. — 2. Amphora (Naples, 2712); on shield of Athena. — 3. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 158); on shield of Ares. — 4. Amphora (formerly Hamilton Coll.; publ. Millingen, *Anc. Uned. Mon.* pl. 4); on shield of Hector. — 5. Amphora (formerly Coll. Feoli; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 91, pl. 194; *Mon.* III, pl. 50); on shield of Trojan. — 6. Amphora (Fitzwilliam Mus. 44; publ. *Cat.* pl. 7, p. 17); on shield of Amazon. — 7. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 323); on shield of warrior fighting Amazons. — 8. Celebe (Naples, 2519; publ. Millingen-Reinach, p. 108, pl. 31); on shield of attendant of Heracles. — 9. Amphora (Munich, 1354); on shield of warrior. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 183, B 426. *A. r. f.* — 10. Amphora (Naples, 3174; publ. Inghirami, *Gall. Omer.* II, pl. 197; *Él. Cér.* I, pl. 9); on shield of giant. — 11. Cylix (Brit. Mus. E 16); on shield of warrior attendant upon Ajax. — 12. Cylix, Duris (Berlin, 2287; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, p. 13, pl. 3; cf. Klein, *M.* p. 159, 19); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 421; Brit. Mus. E 17; *J. H. S.* 1891, p. 340.

TRISKELE AND GORGONEION. See No. CXXIII.

CCLIX. WHEEL. *Geom.* — 1. Crater, Aristonophos (Rome, Mus. Cap.; publ. *Mon.* IX, pl. 4; cf. *Ann.* 1869, p. 157; Klein, *M.* p. 27); on shield of warrior. *A. b. f.* — 2. Amphora (Munich, 326; publ. *Mon.* I, pl. 26, 13; cf. *Ann.* 1831, p. 236); on shield of warrior. Cf. Berlin, 1797. *A. r. f.* — 3. Crater (Brit. Mus. E 467; publ. *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 278, pl. 11); on shield of Ares. — 4. Cylix (Munich, 370; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gefässe*, pl. C, 4-6); on shield hanging on wall. Cf. Munich, 794; Brit. Mus. F 40. *It.* — 5. Calpis (Naples, 3241; publ. *Mus. Borb.* VI, pl. 5); on shield of comrade of Heracles. — 6. Medallion crater (Brit. Mus. F 160; publ. Raoul-Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.* p. 301, pl. 66; *Arch. Zeit.* 1848, p. 225, pl. 15, 1); on shield of Ajax. — 7. Volute crater (Naples, 3254; publ. *Mon.* IX, pl. 32, 33; cf. *Ann.* 1871, p. 166); on shield of Greek standing by pyre of Patroclus. — 8. Medallion crater (Brit. Mus. F 160; publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1848, p. 225, pl. 15, 2); on shield of warrior. Cf. Millin-Reinach, pl. II. 50.

CCLX. WHEEL WITH FOUR WINGS. *A. r. f.* — Cylix, attrib. to Euphronios (Brit. Mus. E 45; publ. Murray, *Designs*, p. 11, fig. 5; Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 118, pl. 13); on shield of Hippolyta.

WHEEL AND INSCRIPTION Εὐφύλητος καλός. See No. CLXI.

CCLXI. WINE SKIN. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Munich, 1191); on shield of warrior.

CCLXII. WOLF. *A. b. f.* — Panath. amphora (Munich, 657; publ. *Mon.* I, pl. 22, 2a, 2b; cf. *Ann.* 1830, p. 219); on shield of Athena.

CCLXIII. WOLF (fore part). *A. b. f.* — Lekythos (Munich, 100); on shield of warrior.

CCLXIV. WOLF'S HEAD. *A. b. f.* — Amphora (Berlin, 1850; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* IV, p. 17, pl. 248, 3, 4); on shield of Athena.

CCLXV. WOMAN WITH FILLET. *A. r. f.* — Pelike (Brit. Mus. E 363; publ. *Mon.* XI, pl. 8; cf. *Ann.* 1879, p. 237); on shield of Achilles borne by Nereid.

CCLXVI. WREATH (ivy). *A. b. f.* — 1. Amphora (Munich, 145; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* I, p. 138, pl. 36); on shield of Athena. Cf. Munich, 114, 379, 598, 618, 1333; Berlin, 1907; Brit. Mus. B 159. — 2. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 202); on shield of Ares. — 3. Amphora (Fitzwilliam Mus. 49; publ. *Cat.* pl. 11, p. 24; *Él. Cér.* III, pl. 12); on shield of giant. Cf. Munich, 623, 719; Brit. Mus. B 208. — 4. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 221); on shield of Geryon. — 5. Amphora (Brit. Mus. B 158); on shield of Cycnus. — 6. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 322); on shield of Achilles. — 7. Amphora (Munich, 380; publ. Gerhard, *A. V.* III, p. 144, pl. 227; Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.* pl. 23, 2); on shield of Aeneas; also on shield of Paris. — 8. Amphora (Munich, 53); on shield of Patroclus. — 9. Hydria (publ. *Arch. Zeit.* 1856, p. 230, pl. 91); on shield of warrior defending Troilus (Aeneas? Hector?). — 10. Amphora (Berlin, 1849); on shield of Amazon in contest with Heracles. Cf. Brit. Mus. B 209, B 426. — 11. Hydria (Brit. Mus. B 323); on Boeot. shield of Amazon. — 12. Hydria (Munich, 128); on shield of warrior fighting with Amazons. — 13. Oenochoe (Brit. Mus. B 504); on shield of warrior fighting with centaurs. — 14. Pelike (Terranova, Coll. Navarra; publ. Benndorf, *Gr. u. Siz. Vasenb.* p. 91, pl. 43, 4 B); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 313, 328, 409, 612, 680, 717, 718, 1263; Brit. Mus. B 325, B 340, B 430, B 470; Berlin, 1896; Naples, 2792. — 15. Amphora, (Fitzwilliam Mus. 52); on Boeot. shield hanging on wall. *A. r. f.* — 16. Oxybaphon (Naples, 1972; publ. Panofka, *Zeus Basileus u. Herakles Kallinikos*, pl. 7); on shield of Athena. — 17. Cylix, style of Brygos (Berlin, 2293; publ. Gerhard, *Trinksch.* p. 20, pl. 10, 11); on shield of giant. — 18. Lekythos (Brit. Mus. E 573); on shield of Amazon. — 19. Cylix, attrib. to Onesimos (Munich, 368; publ. Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 542, pl. 60); on shield of warrior fighting with centaurs. — 19. Cylix, attrib. to Cachrylion (Brit. Mus. E 43; publ. Klein, *Gr. Vasen mit Lieblingsnamen*, p. 85, fig. 21; Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 50, pl. 3, 3); on shield of warrior. Cf. Munich, 437.

WREATH (ivy) AND BALL. See No. XII.

WREATH (ivy) AND INSCRIPTION *Νίκη καλή*. See No. CLXII.

WREATH (ivy) AND STAR. See No. CCXLVII.

CCLXVII. WREATHS (ivy) (two). *A. b. f.* — Pitcher (Naples, SA 142); on shield of warrior.

WREATHS (ivy) (two) AND BIRD. See No. XLV.

CCLXVIII. WREATH (laurel). *A. r. f.* — 1. Oenochoe (formerly Hamilton Coll.; publ. *Él. Cér.* I, p. 238, pl. 72); on shield of Athena. — 2. Cylix (Naples, 2613; publ. *Mus. Borb.* X, pl. 63); on shield of Amazon. — 3. Cylix (Naples, 2634; publ. *Mon.* II, pl. 16; cf. *Ann.* 1835, p. 70); on shield of warrior grouped with Apollo. *It.* — 4. Oxybaphon (Naples, 2248); on shield of young man.

WREATH (laurel) AND GORGONEION. See No. CXXII.

A STUDY OF THE DANAID MYTH¹

BY CAMPBELL BONNER

I

IN discussing the myth of the Danaids it seems advisable to state at the beginning the features of the story that are vouched for by all or almost all of the ancient writers who repeat it. Then the important variations will be taken up, and where possible an attempt will be made to indicate which version is best authenticated. The origin of the varying accounts will be in some measure explained and attention will be directed to the parts of the story which appear to be most ancient and genuinely mythical. It may be found that those parts are not susceptible of ultimate analysis and explanation. In that event it will at least be worth while to reduce the story to its simplest and most primitive form, and to set apart all later accretions.

Rejecting then details in regard to which authorities are not in accord, the story is as follows:

The Danaids were the fifty daughters of Danaus. They were persuaded or compelled to marry the fifty² sons of Aegyptus, the brother of Danaus, but freed themselves by slaying their husbands on the night of the marriage. They cut off the heads of the young men and threw them into the Lernaean marsh. Hypermestra³ alone took no part in this crime, and spared her husband Lynceus. The others were condemned in the lower world to expiate their impious deed by filling a leaky vessel with water. It should be said, however, that this penalty is not mentioned until the later period of the literature.

Passing now to features of the story about which our authorities disagree, we find varying accounts of the personality of Danaus. According to the scholiast of Euripides,⁴ Danaus and Aegyptus were

¹ Some of the conclusions reached in this paper have already been published in *Trans. of the Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 1900, pp. 27-36.

² Hecataeus, quoted in Schol. Eur. *Or.* 871, gives the number as less than twenty.

³ For the spelling, cf. O. Schröder, *Prolegomena to Pindar*, II, § 57.

⁴ On *Hec.* 886.

sons of Io, the daughter of Inachus. Their father is not named. All other writers¹ agree that they were sons of Belus, a grandson of Epaphus, the son of Io. There are also varying statements about the wives of the two brothers. Each had only one wife, according to Hippostratus.² Others mention several.³

Of more importance for the history of the myth is the question whether Danaus was purely an Argive personage or was regarded as an immigrant of African origin. The scholiast of Euripides⁴ leaves us to infer that Danaus was an Argive and always lived in Argos. He says, however, that Aegyptus was expelled from Argos by his brother and lived for a time as an exile in Egypt. The other authorities agree in saying that Danaus formerly reigned in Egypt or Libya, but apprehending danger from his brother and nephews, fled to Argos with his daughters. The different version presented by the scholiast is perhaps to be explained by the fact that he, or the source from which he draws, ignores the common legend about Io's wandering to Egypt. Those writers who show that this story was familiar to them must necessarily connect Danaus and Aegyptus, as descendants of Io, with the land to which she had migrated.

In assigning reasons for the enmity between the families of Danaus and Aegyptus and for the consequent tragedy, different narratives display an inconsistency that becomes an important factor in the interpretation of the myth. Thus, from Eustathius's note on *Il.* 1, 42 we learn that Danaus fled to Argos because an oracle had warned him to beware of the sons of Aegyptus. The crime of the Danaids was committed in Argos, after their marriage. A slightly different account appears in a scholium on Eur. *Or.* 872, where it is related that Danaus consulted the oracle after the wedding, and when warned that the marriage would bring fatal consequences to him, persuaded his daughters to put their husbands to death. Nothing is said about his flight. Again, a scholiast on *Il.* 1, 42 says that a dispute about the sovereignty in Egypt was the

¹ Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2, 11 (Wagner), Schol. Eur. *Or.* 932, Tzetz. *Chil.* 7, *Hist.* 136, and, apparently, Aesch. *Prom.* 879, Eustath. p. 37, 10 on *Il.* 1, 42, and Schol. *ibid.*

² Apud Tzetz. *l. c.* Cf. also Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 3, 1186.

³ E. g. Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2, 16 ff.

⁴ *Hec.* 886.

cause of the enmity between the two brothers ; that Danaus instigated the crime after being warned by the oracle, and then after the murder fled to Argos.¹ Other writers say nothing about the advice of the oracle, and find an explanation of the feud in a quarrel about the kingdom, the rights and wrongs of which are not consistently stated. The scholiast on Eur. *Hec.* 886 represents Danaus as a jealous aggressor, who exiled his brother. Pseudo-Servius² and Hyginus³ on the other hand represent him as the injured party.

Certain scholars have held that the Danaids fled from Egypt and afterwards murdered their cousins in order to escape an incestuous marriage with them. This they infer from two passages in Aeschylus ; first, *Prom.* 879 ff. (Wecklein) :

πέμπτη δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γέννα πεντηκοντάπαις
 πάλιν πρὸς Ἄργος οὐχ ἑκοῦσ' ἐλεύσεται
 θηλύσπορος, φεύγουσα συγγενῇ γάμον
 ἀνεψιῶν ;

and *Suppl.* 9 :

γάμον Αἰγύπτου παίδων ἀσεβῆ τ'
 ὀνοταζόμεναι.

But as Wecklein has pointed out, marriages between cousins were not considered improper by either Greeks or Egyptians.⁴ As for the passage in the *Prometheus*, the word *συγγενῇ* does not necessarily give the reason for the flight. The adjective may be merely descriptive. In other passages also it may be contended that the marriage of the Danaids is called unholy, not because of the relationship existing between the parties, but because the maidens were compelled to marry against their will.

Omitting for the present some isolated and unimportant traditions about the journey of Danaus and his arrival in Argos, let us pass to the accounts of the crime of the Danaids. The bloody deed took place in Argos after the marriage according to most authorities, but as has

¹ The scholiast claims to be quoting from the second book of Apollodorus.

² On *Aen.* 10, 497.

³ Hyg. *Fab.* 168 (p. 31, Schmidt).

⁴ *Sitzungsber. der k. b. Akad. zu München*, 1893, p. 424.

been pointed out above, the scholiast on *Il.* 1, 42 makes Egypt the scene of its commission. So also the author of the epic *Danaïs*, if we may argue from the verses

καὶ τότε ἄρ' ὠπλίζοντο θοῶς Δαναοῖο θυγατρὲς
πρόσθεν ἑυρρέεος ποταμοῦ Νειλοῖο ἀνακτος.¹

The circumstances of the murder itself are very briefly described. Pseudo-Apollodorus² says that after the wedding-feast Danaus gave daggers to his daughters, and all of them except Hypermestra³ slew their husbands as they slept. The next day they sunk the heads of the murdered youths in the Lernaean marsh, and buried their bodies before the city.

Other accounts differ from this only in trivial details. There is, however, a noteworthy variance in the statement of the motives that prompted Hypermestra to spare Lynceus. According to Pseudo-Apollodorus⁴ and certain scholia on Pindar⁵ and Homer,⁶ she did so because Lynceus had respected her chastity and allowed her to remain a virgin. But the scholiast on Eur. *Hec.* 886 says that her action was due to her affection for Lynceus, arising from her connubial relation with him. Aeschylus followed a like tradition, as appears from *Prom.* 891 f., μίαν δὲ παίδων ἡμερὸς θέλξει τὸ μὴ | κτείνειν σύνευνον, κτλ.

The same inference may be drawn from the fact that in the lost play, *Danaïdes*, the poet appears to have represented Aphrodite as pleading the cause of Hypermestra, when she had been put on trial for disobeying her father's command.⁷ The goddess undertook the defense of Hypermestra, not because she had shown herself merciful, but because of her love for Lynceus.⁸

¹ That these verses refer to preparation for some conflict appears from the words of Clement, who quotes them in *Strom.* 4, 19, 122. They are so understood by Wecklein, *l. c.* p. 393. Ed. Meyer refers them to the preparation for the voyage to Argos; *Forsch. z. alt. Gesch.* p. 82, n. 3.

² *Bibl.* 2, 21-22.

³ Eustath. on Dion. Per. 805 says that Bebryce also spared her husband Hippolytus. This appears to have been no part of the original legend; but cf. Eust. on *Il.* 1, 42 (p. 37, 10 ff.) and the scholiast on the same passage.

⁴ *Bibl.* 2, 21.

⁵ On *Nem.* 10, 10.

⁶ On *Il.* 4, 171.

⁷ Aesch. *Fragm.* 44, Wecklein.

⁸ Ovid's letter of Hypermestra (*Her.* 14) throws little light on the above-discussed divergence of the traditions. In v. 55 the heroine says *femina sum et virgo natura*

Various writers recount numerous incidents that are said to have taken place after the murder of the fifty youths, but their narratives differ greatly. Here again the writer of the scholium on Eur. *Hec.* 886 differs from most of our sources in saying that Lynceus avenged his brothers by putting to death Danaus and all his daughters except Hypermestra, to whom he owed his deliverance. With her he ruled over the kingdom of Argos. Ovid probably used this version of the story, for he seems to know that the death of the Danaids followed close upon their crime. He does not, however, expressly state that Lynceus was the avenger. The verses in question are *Her.* 14, 115-118:

De fratrum populo pars exiguiissima restat:
 Quique dati leto, quaeque dedere, fleo;
 Nam mihi quot fratres, totidem periire sorores:
 Accipiat lacrimas utraque turba meas.

In harmony with this version is the belief — widespread in the later period, if not in the earlier — that a special and peculiar punishment was assigned to the Danaids in Hades. For such a belief could hardly have arisen if there had been a consistent tradition that the Danaids escaped punishment on earth and filled out the measure of a prosperous life.

Pindar is our first authority for a version directly opposed to that just mentioned. In *Pyth.* 9, 111 ff., he tells how Danaus caused all¹ his daughters to stand at the goal of a race-course, and bade the suitors who had presented themselves decide by the swiftness of their feet which maiden each should marry. By this is meant, as we learn from a similar story in Paus. 3, 12, 2, that the victor had the right to select

mitis et annis. But Palmer is probably right in contending that the word *virgo* is used only with reference to her tender years. See his note on *Her.* 6, 133. The emendation that Palmer proposes for *Her.* 14, 42 would bring this poem into line with the tradition of Schol. Eur. *Hec.* 886. Another correspondence with the scholiast had been observed by Palmer in vv. 116 f. — Again in Hor. *Carm.* 3, 11, there is doubt as to which tradition the poet followed. Perhaps he sought to combine the two, as Kiessling suggests. See his note on v. 33.

¹ Pindar gives the number of the girls as forty-eight, because, as the scholiast remarks, Hypermestra was already married to Lynceus, and Amymone had found a lover in Poseidon.

his bride first, the man that came second chose from the remaining ones, and so on, until, as Pindar relates, all were married before noon. All this of course took place after the murder of the sons of Aegyptus, as is explicitly stated in Pseudo-Apollodorus¹ and Hyginus.² The latter adds that the second husbands of the Danaids were Argive youths, and says that the second marriage took place after the death of Danaus. In regard to this last point he differs from other authorities.

Pausanias's account of the athletic wooing of the Danaids, which was mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, differs somewhat from Pindar's story. According to Pausanias, the stigma of murder clung to the maidens so that nobody would marry them. Danaus therefore made it known that he would give his daughters to any suitors that might be attracted by their beauty, and that he would not expect the customary wedding-gifts. Not many suitors appeared. For those who came Danaus held a contest in the manner described above. But some of the Danaids were left over and had to wait until their father could summon other suitors and establish another contest.

Pindar evidently chose the more flattering form of the legend. It is worthy of note that in *Nem.* 10, 6 he praises Hypermestra because she spared her bridegroom, yet in *Pyth.* 9, 111 ff. says nothing about the guilt of her sisters. From this it may be conjectured that he had in mind some such white-washing version as that of Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 2, 22) — καὶ αὐτὰς ἐκάθησαν Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἑρμῆς Διὸς κελεύσαντος. With this statement we may perhaps connect the tradition that Danaus was brought to trial and called to account for the crime that his daughters committed at his instigation. The trial is mentioned in Eur. *Or.* 871 ff. :

ὁρῶ δ' ὄχλον στείχοντα καὶ θάσσοντ' ἄκραν,
οὗ φασι πρῶτον Δαναὸν Αἰγυπτῷ δίκας
διδόντ' ἀποροῖσαι λαὸν εἰς κοινὰς ἔδρας,

and in the schol. *ad loc.* : αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Αἰγυπτῶς ἦκεν εἰς Ἀργὸς τιμωρήσων τὸν φόνον. Δαναὸς δὲ μαθὼν ἐξῆγεν εἰς ὄπλα τοὺς Ἀργεῖους, ἀλλὰ Λυγκεὺς πείθει λόγοις ὀρίσασθαι τὴν ἔχθραν, καὶ καθιστῶσι δικαστὰς αὐτοῖς Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἀργείων τοὺς ἀρίστους.

¹ *Bibl.* 2, 22.

² *Fab.* 170 *ad fin.* (p. 34, Schmidt).

Even among the ancients it seems to have been a disputed question whether Aegyptus came to Argos or not. From the Euripidean fragment (229 Nauck) quoted in *Ar. Ran.* 1206:

Αἴγυπτος, ὡς ὁ πλείστος ἔσπαρται λόγος,
ξὺν παισὶ πεντήκοντα ναυτίλῃ πλάτῃ
*Αργος κατασχών,

it appears that the weight of ancient testimony was in accord with the scholium quoted above on *Or.* 871. Yet in another scholium on the same passage in the *Orestes* a different view is expressed: ἡ πολλὴ δόξα κατέχει μὴ ἀφίχθαι τὸν Αἴγυπτον εἰς *Αργος, καθάπερ ἄλλοι τέ φασι καὶ Ἑκαταῖος γράφων οὕτως [*FHG* IV, p. 627a]. ὁ δὲ Αἴγυπτος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς *Αργος, παῖδας δὲ . . . ὡς μὲν Ἡσιόδος [*frag.* 50] ἐποίησε πεντήκοντα, ὡς ἐγὼ δὲ, οὐδὲ εἴκοσι. καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ κυκλογράφος [*FHG* IV, p. 653a] ἐν τούτῳ τὰ παραπλήσιά φησι. Φρύνιχος δὲ ὁ τραγικός φησι σὺν Αἰγυπτίοις τὸν Αἴγυπτον ἦκεν εἰς *Αργος. Eustathius also (on *Il.* 1, 42) speaks of certain historians who maintained the view that Aegyptus came to Argos. Pausanias (7, 21, 13) even says that the tomb of Aegyptus was shown at Patrae, whose inhabitants related that he fled to the neighboring town of Aroe after his sons were murdered in Argos.

Returning to the trial of Danaus, we are not told that the Danaids were brought to judgment along with their father. The scholia on *Or.* 871 have nothing bearing on this point. But as we have seen above, Pseudo-Apollodorus—who, it should be observed, does not mention the trial of Danaus—says that Athena and Hermes cleansed the Danaids of their guilt. This may point to a tradition that they were brought to trial and that the two divinities played a part similar to that of Athena in the *Eumenides*.¹

Distinct from this is the story that Hypermestra was brought to trial for disobeying her father and allowing Lynceus to escape. This situation, as was said above, was treated in the *Danaids* of Aeschylus, and Aphrodite was represented as defending Hypermestra—that is, if Hermann is right in his explanation of the beautiful fragment² pre-

¹ Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen z. alt. Gesch.* I, p. 84.

² 44 Weckl.

served in Athenaeus 13, p. 600 B. His view is supported by the following passages in Pausanias (2, 19, 6):

τὰ δὲ ξάνα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, τὸ μὲν Ἐπειοῦ λέγουσιν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ Ὑπερμήστρας ἀνάθημα. ταύτην γὰρ τῶν θυγατέρων μόνην τὸ πρόσταγμα ὑπεριδοῦσαν ὑπήγαγεν ὁ Δαναὸς εἰς δικαστήριον, τοῦ τε Λυγκέως οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον αὐτῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡγούμενος, καὶ ὅτι τοῦ τολμήματος οὐ μετασχούσα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς καὶ τῇ βουλευσάντι τὸ ὄνειδος ἠΐξεσε. κριθείσα δὲ ἐν Ἀργείοις ἀποφεύγει τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτην ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀνέθηκε.¹ 2, 21, 1. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Πειθούς.² Ὑπερμήστρα καὶ τοῦτο ἀνέθηκε, νικήσασα τῇ δίκῃ τὸν πατέρα, ἣν τοῦ Λυγκέως ἕνεκα ἔφυγε.

Pseudo-Apollodorus, who says that Hypermestra was imprisoned by her father, makes no mention of a trial. The same is true of Horace, *Carm.* 3, 11, and Ovid, *Her.* 14. The first named writer differs from the other two in stating expressly what they leave uncertain—that Danaus afterwards restored Hypermestra to her lover. But whether she was married with her father's consent or Lynceus liberated her by force, most authorities say that the couple reigned over Argos and became the parents of Abas, the ancestor of the Argive kings.

The most ancient writers that touch upon the story of the Danaids are silent in regard to their peculiar punishment in Hades. It is first mentioned in the *Axiochus*, p. 371 E:

ὅσοις δὲ τὸ ζῆν διὰ κακουργημάτων ἡλάβη, ἄγονται πρὸς Ἑρινύων ἐπ' ἔρεβος καὶ χάος διὰ ταρτάρου, ἔνθα χώρος ἀσεβῶν καὶ Δαναῖδων ὑδρεῖαι ἀτελεῖς καὶ Ταντάλου δῦψος καὶ Τιτύου σπλάγχνα καὶ Σισύφου πέτρος ἀνήνυτος, οὗ τὰ τέρματα αὐθις ἄρχεται πόνων.

¹ The place of the trial is mentioned in passing in 2, 20, 7.

² The edition of Hitzig-Blümner has this note: "Artemis trägt diesen Beinamen als Ehegöttin; gemeint ist die Ueberredung zur Liebe, vgl. 1, 43, 6 und die Artemis λυσιζώνος, Preller-Robert 319." But it seems to me very probable that Ἀρτέμιδος in the text is a slip for Ἀφροδίτης. The passage quoted above, 2, 19, 6, indicates that Hypermestra was under the special protection of Aphrodite, whose image she erected. Cf. also 2, 37, 2, where the words θυγατέρας Δαναοῦ may refer especially to her. Besides, while the name Πειθώ is often given to Aphrodite (cf. Preller-Robert 508, 2), I know of no instance where Artemis has it except one quoted by Bruchmann from a certain magical hymn edited by C. Wessely in *Denkschr. d. Wien. Akad.* XXXVI (1888) 2, p. 30 (cf. esp. v. 18), where the goddess is invoked under some dozens of more or less appropriate names, Πειθώ among them.

Yet in later writers this punishment is frequently mentioned, and mentioned as a thing universally known. Hence the silence of earlier authorities may be fortuitous. Plato, in *Gorg.* 493 A-C, and some other authors after him, assign the task of filling a leaky vessel to impious souls in general, and in particular to those who had never been initiated into the mysteries. From this circumstance certain scholars have drawn the inference that this singular punishment was first said to be inflicted upon the uninitiated and later transferred to the Danaids for some reason or other. This theory has provoked some controversy and will be discussed at length in the course of this article.

Other variations, mostly of minor importance, will be noted in the discussion of single features of the story or omitted altogether. The reader who is familiar with the fable has perhaps missed the story of Amynone, which for special reasons I have reserved for treatment in a separate chapter. The purpose of the foregoing pages has been to give an idea of the ramifications of the myth, the inconsistencies of which can be explained only on the supposition that historians and poets gave their fancy free rein in relating many parts of it, and thus to prepare the reader for the conclusion that a close investigation compels us to reject many elements of the story and to reduce it to a comparatively small genuinely mythical nucleus.

II

For the purpose of the present investigation it is important to understand the part that Danaus plays in Greek legend. The form of the name indicates that he is merely the eponymous ancestor of the Danaan race, as Achaeus is the eponym of the Achaeans and Aeolus of the Aeolians. Hence the acts attributed to him are such as might be expected of the legendary founder of a people. Some writers maintained that to him, not to Cadmus, was due the invention of the alphabet.¹ Again Danaus, or Athena for him, was said by some writers

¹ Bekk. *Anec. Gr.* p. 783 (Müller, *FHG*, II, p. 5): Πυθόδωρος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ στοιχείων, καὶ Φίλλιος ὁ Δῆλιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ χορῶν Δαναὸν πρὸ Κάδμου μετακομίσαι αὐτὰ [i. e. τὰ στοιχεῖα] φασιν. ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι τοῖσι καὶ οἱ Μιλησιακοὶ συγγραφεῖς, Ἀναξίμανδρος καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ Ἑκαταῖος, οἷς καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Νεῶν καταλόγῳ παρατίθεται. Cf. also Nonn. *Dionys.* 4, 259 ff.

to have built a ship even before the Argo, which was commonly held to have been the first vessel ever made.¹ He also introduced into Greece from Egypt the art of digging wells;² but in regard to this point there may have been some confusion between Danaus and the Danaids, for the Hesiodic verse quoted by Eust. *Il.* 4, 171, "Ἀργὸς ἄνδρον ἐὼν Δαναὸς ποίησεν ἔνυδρον, appears in Strabo, 8, p. 371, in the form "Ἀργὸς ἄνδρον ἐὼν Δανααὶ θέσαν "Ἀργὸς ἔνυδρον.

Furthermore, Danaus was the reputed founder of certain contests, which, as the legend has it, he established on the occasion of the marriage of his daughters.³ He also has the credit of erecting various temples and monuments.⁴

But if Danaus is the eponymous hero of the Danaans and the founder of the Argive kingdom, it is strange that a persistent tradition makes him out to be of Egyptian origin. As we have seen above (p. 131), the scholiast of Eur. *Hec.* 886 stands alone in saying nothing of the Egyptian connection and leaving us to suppose that Danaus was a Greek. Yet, in view of his close relations with the early institutions of Argos, I think that Ed. Meyer and Wecklein are right in holding that the scholiast's version is the older and truer one. It remains then to explain how the belief in the foreign origin of Danaus grew up. The correct solution of this difficulty appears to be Meyer's, which is about as follows:⁵ After genealogical legends had connected Danaus with Io, the Argives learned of the Egyptian goddess Isis and identified her with their own Io. Out of this identification grew the story of Io's migration to Egypt; and as this story came to be widely accepted, Danaus, the descendant of Io, was necessarily transferred to Egypt. Furthermore,

¹ Schol. Eur. *Med.* 1, Hyg. *Fab.* 277 (p. 153, Schm.), Eust. *Il.* 1, 42 and Schol. *ibid.*

² Polyb. apud Strab. 1, 23, Plin. *N. H.* 7, 195, Nonn. *Dionys.* 4, 252; cf. Schol. *Il.* 4, 171, and Eust. *ibid.* Some of these writers attribute the invention to the Danaids.

³ Arist. *Pepl.* (Müller, *FHG* II, pp. 189, 282), . . . τρεῖς [ἄγων], δὲ "Ἀργεὶ Δαναὸς ἔθηκε διὰ τὸν γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ. Hyg. *Fab.* 273 (p. 146, 8 ff. Schm.), quinto loco Argis, quos [i. e. ludos] fecit Danaus Beli filius filiarum nuptiis cantu, unde hymenaeus dictus. Cf. also Plut. *de Mus.* 26, τὸν δ' ἀγῶνα τούτου [i. e. τὰ Σθένεια] ἐπὶ Δαναῷ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν τεθῆναι φασιν, ὕστερον δ' ἀνατεθῆναι Διὶ Σθενίῳ.

⁴ Paus. 2, 19, 3-5; 37, 2.

⁵ *Forschungen*, I, pp. 78, 81-82.

the chroniclers invented another descendant in the person of Aegyptus, the eponym of the Egyptians. In order to bring Danaus back to Argos the author of the epic *Danaïs* used the already existing myth of the Danaids and their violent suitors, who now, as Meyer says, became sons of Aegyptus and so got a name.

Wecklein's explanation of this point is less satisfactory.¹ He contends that a personage bearing the name Aegyptus figured in the most ancient legends about the Danaids, and that the whole story about Danaus and his brother was transferred to Egypt at the time when the Argives learned of the great river Nile. For in ancient times, as we know from Homer, the Greeks called the Nile by the name *Αἴγυπτος*, which, according to Wecklein's theory, meant in the oldest Greek *sea*, or rather the *ocean stream*, the father of all the minor rivers, which appear in this myth in the guise of men—namely, the sons of Aegyptus.

But for reasons that will be set forth more fully in another chapter, I must regard as unsuccessful all attempts to explain this myth by interpreting its personages as natural forces, be they rivers, springs, or what not. Therefore, I prefer Meyer's view of the particular point in question, although he, too, in his discussion of the crime of the Danaids, falls into the general error.

Perhaps the belief that Danaus came from Egypt is sufficiently explained by the fact that the Argives, like many other Greek peoples, conceived the aboriginal inhabitants of their country to have been Pelasgians. The founder of the Danaan race must therefore have come from foreign parts. Seeking to explain the migration of Danaus, the story-tellers hit upon the common device of a family quarrel and the consequent flight of the weaker party. Later historians and poets filled out the narrative with various details.²

However this may be, it is certain that almost all ancient writers that mention Danaus say that he went from Egypt to Argos and gave his

¹ *Sitz.-Ber. d. Münch. Akad.* 1893, p. 39 ff. Cf. esp. p. 397, where after quoting Schol. Eur. *Hec.* 886, he says: "Aegyptus ist also ein Grieche, und geht eigentlich nur deshalb nach Aegypten, um diesem Lande seinen Namen zu geben. Der Streit und die Bluthochzeit gehören dem Argivischen Lande an. . . . Aegypten ist durch den Namen *Αἴγυπτος* hereingekommen."

² Some excellent remarks on myths of this type will be found in Holm's *History of Greece* (Eng. tr.), I, pp. 57-58.

name to the inhabitants of the Argive territory.¹ Landmarks of his journey were shown on the island of Rhodes, where his daughters were said to have erected a shrine and image of Athena at Lindus.² The spot where he landed on Argive soil was pointed out in the time of Pausanias.³ As to the manner in which he got control of the Argive kingdom, accounts vary. Pausanias says that Gelanor was then king of Argos, and on the arrival of Danaus the two disputed the question of sovereignty for some time. Finally a peculiar portent was interpreted in favor of Danaus, and Gelanor resigned the kingdom to him.⁴ But Aeschylus,⁵ Ovid,⁶ and the scholiast of Euripides⁷ agree in giving the name Pelasgus to the king of Argos; and from the *Supplices* of Aeschylus it appears that Pelasgus received Danaus and his daughters hospitably on their arrival in Argos. How, then, according to this version, did Danaus obtain the royal power? The scanty evidence before us does not furnish material for a decisive answer. Perhaps the Argives were defeated and Pelasgus slain in the battle that the herald predicts in lines 961 f.;⁸ then the sons of Aegyptus would have got possession of the Danaids, and after they were murdered by their unwilling brides, Danaus would have seized the throne. Such questions, however, may be dismissed without further discussion, as they have more to do with the reconstruction of the lost plays of Aeschylus than with the interpretation of the Danaid myth.

After the fiction that Danaus came from Egypt had been popularly accepted, historians added sundry details as they detected correspondences between the story of Danaus and various figures of Egyptian history. Herodotus⁹ says that Danaus and Lynceus were natives of Chemmis, according to the statement of citizens with whom he conversed there. Diodorus credits Danaus with the foundation of the temple of Ammon, and, again, says he was one of those who led the Jews out

¹ Eur. *Frag.* 230; Paus. 4, 35, 2; 2, 16, 1.

² Herodotus 2, 182, Strabo 14, p. 655, Diod. 5, 58, 1, Schol. *Il.* 1, 42, Eust. *Il.* 2, 656, *Marmor Parium* 14 ff. Cf. also Strabo 14, p. 654.

³ Paus. 2, 38, 4.

⁴ Paus. 2, 19, 3 and 5; cf. 2, 16, 1.

⁵ *Suppl.* 257.

⁶ *Her.* 14, 23.

⁷ On *Or.* 932.

⁸ So Wecklein, *Sitz.-Ber. d. Münch. Akad.* 1893, p. 417. See also Hermann, *Opusc.* II, p. 323.

⁹ *Hdt.* 2, 91; cf. Critobulus, *Hist.* 1, 4, 2.

of Egypt.¹ Manetho, quoted by Josephus, identifies Aegyptus and Danaus with two warring brothers of an Egyptian dynasty — Sethosis and Armais.²

The whole question of the migration of Danaus is treated by Schwarz in an article³ that has little to commend it beyond the fact that the writer rejects the old "river and spring" interpretation of the myth. He finds in the story a type of the commercial relations that existed between Argives and Egyptians in early times. In the account of the murder of the sons of Aegyptus he would recognize a reminiscence of some deed of rapine committed by pirates, who afterwards came to their death through the women they had captured.

While conceding that myths might arise from, or at least be influenced by, actual occurrences of that sort, I should question the possibility of explaining after this manner a narrative so strongly marked by individual peculiarities as is the myth of the Danaids. But without spending time in refuting a theory which appears to have found no adherents, I would say that Schwarz's chief error is that which is shared by most other writers on this myth — namely, the application of one and the same canon of criticism and interpretation to the stories told about Danaus and those related of the fifty maidens.

The propriety of that method should be emphatically denied. In fact, an explanation of the murder of the sons of Aegyptus must be sought without reference to Danaus. The story of that crime is a folk-tale, a *Märchen*. Danaus, on the other hand, is a pseudo-historical personage, and no single act of his savors of the genuinely mythical, or *märchenhaft*, except his complicity in the bloody deed of his daughters. But it has been rightly observed that in the earliest form of that story both the fifty maidens and their father were in all probability nameless.⁴ It was reserved for some Argive chronicler to identify the father with Danaus and call the daughters Danaids; just as the nymphs Pandrosos, Agraulos, and Herse, who lived in Attic legend independently of Cecrops, were later alleged to be the daughters of that hero.⁵

¹ Diod. 17, 50, 2; 40, 3, 2; cf. 1, 28, 2.

² Joseph. *C. Apion.* 1, 15 (Müller, *FHG*, II, p. 573).

³ *Jahrb. f. Philol.* CXLVII (1893), p. 95 ff.

⁴ So Waser, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* II, 1-2, p. 55.

⁵ Cf. Bloch, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v. *Nymphae*, col. 529.

III

The story of Amymone, which forms a distinct episode in the accounts of Danaus and his daughters, must be set apart before a correct estimate of the Danaid myth proper can be made.¹ Pseudo-Apollodorus tells the story as follows (*Bibl.* 2, 14) :

[Δαναὸς] . . . τὰς θυγατέρας ὕδρευσομένας ἐπεμψε. μία δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀμυμώνη ζητοῦσα ὕδωρ ῥίπτει βέλος ἐπὶ ἔλαφον καὶ κοιμωμένον Σατύρου τυγχάνει, κακείνος περιναστὰς ἐπεθύμει συγγενέσθαι. Ποσειδῶνος δὲ ἐπιφανέντος ὁ Σάτυρος μὲν ἔφυγεν, Ἀμυμώνη δὲ τούτῳ συνευνάζεται, καὶ αὐτῇ Ποσειδῶν τὰς ἐν Λέρνη πηγὰς ἐμήνυσεν.

Hyginus presents two versions of this story, which differ only in insignificant details from that just quoted. Like most other authorities he says that the Lernaean fountain sprang from a stroke of Poseidon's trident.² This fountain was the source of a river bearing the name of Amymone.³

The reason for discussing the Amymone myth separately is that the ancients themselves set her apart from the other Danaids by indicating that on account of her amour with Poseidon she was not married to one of the sons of Aegyptus, and so had no part in the crime of the Danaids. It is true that Pseudo-Apollodorus⁴ says that Amymone was married to Enceladus, and Hyginus⁵ counts her among those who slew their bridegrooms; but in the passages in question both writers are concerned only with giving a full list of both the Danaids and the sons of Aegyptus, and hence omitted no name that figured in the myth. On the other hand, a tradition as old as Pindar excluded Amymone from the maidens that wedded the Argive athletes,⁶ and it is a legitimate inference that

¹ H. D. Müller, *Mythol. der griech. Stämme*, p. 50, had observed that the Amymone-fable is distinct from the rest of the narrative of Ps.-Apollodorus.

² Hyg. *Fab.* 169 (p. 31 f. Schm.). Schol. *Il.* 4, 171, Eust. *ibid.*, Eur. *Phoen.* 187 ff., Apoll. Rhod. 1, 137, Nonn. *Dionys.* 8, 240 ff., Lucian, *Dial. Mar.* 6 *ad fin.*, Mythogr. Vat. 1, 45. Cf. Philostr. *Imag.* 8 (p. 306, Kays.), and Christodorus, *Ephr.* 61 ff. (*Anth. Pal.* II).

³ Strabo 8, 6-8, p. 371; Paus. 2, 37, 1; 5, 17, 11.

⁴ *Bibl.* 2, 16.

⁵ *Fab.* 170 (p. 33, Schmidt).

⁶ See p. 133, n. 1. But Eustathius on Dion. Per. 805 says that the two whom Pindar excepts were Hypermestra and Bebruce,—an isolated tradition. See p. 132, n. 3.

she was not previously married to one of her cousins. Her fate is also set apart from that of the other Danaids in a passage in Lucian (*Dial. Mar.* 6 *ad fin.*), where Poseidon says to her . . . καὶ σὺ εὐδαίμων ἔση καὶ μόνη τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐχ ὑδροφορήσεις ἀποθανοῦσα. This ignores the fact that Hypermetra also was commonly said to have escaped the punishment allotted to the blood-stained sisters in Hades.

Amymone is rightly considered a nymph of the Lernaean spring and the stream that flowed from it.¹ That other nymphs were called daughters of Danaus appears from Callim. 5, 47 :

σάμερον αἱ δῶλαι τὰς κάλπιδας ἧ 'ς Φυσάδειαν
ἧ ἐς Ἀμυμώναν οἴσετε τὰν Δαναῶν,

where the scholiast remarks : Φυσάδεια καὶ Ἀμυμώνη θυγατέρες Δαναοῦ, ὅθεν τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἔσχον αἱ κρήναι.² So also in Plut. *Parallel.* 33 (*Moral.* Vol. I, p. 385, Dübner.) Pelops is said to have had a son Chrysippus ἐκ Δαναΐδος νύμφης. Another obscure tradition said that the Curetes were descended from Apollo and the nymph Creusa, a daughter of Danaus.³ A certain Polydora, who figures in Thessalian legends and appears to have been a nymph of the district of Mount Oeta, was a daughter of Danaus, according to Antoninus Liberalis and the scholiast of Apollonius.⁴ This statement seems rather strange, since Danaus was so closely connected with the Argive territory. The coupling of the two names may be due to the fact that in Aeniania there flowed from the slopes of Oeta a river called Inachus, a tributary of the Spercheus, and in Argolis the chief river was the Inachus, which was said to have been an ancestor of Danaus. The story of Polydora presents in some respects a parallel to that of Amymone. The common tradition represented her as beloved by the river-god, Spercheus—so *Il.* 16, 176 ; but the scholiast on that passage tells of her being attacked by the giant, Pelor, and, it would seem, being rescued by Poseidon—a story which recalls Amymone's adventure with the satyr.

¹ Cf. Nonn. *Dionys.* 8, 241, where she is called νύμφη Λερναίη.

² Cf. Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 188.

³ Tzetzes on Lyc. 77.

⁴ Ant. Lib. 32, 1. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1212. The latter claims to be quoting Pherecydes, and names the river-god Peneus instead of Spercheus as the lover of Polydora. In *Il.* 16, 175 Polydora is called the daughter of Peleus. Cf. Ps.-Apoll. *Bibl.* 3, 163 and 168, where some confusion of persons is evident.

It is safe to assume that the myths of Amymone, Polydora, and other so-called Danaid nymphs, existed independently of the singular story about the murder of the fifty bridegrooms. These myths were brought into connection with the legends of Danaus and the Danaids by the conjectures of mythographers and genealogists. They give us, therefore, no warrant for considering the blood-guilty brides a sisterhood of nymphs, and, in fact, do not in any way contribute to a better understanding of the Danaid myth proper — that is, the account of the fatal marriage.¹

IV

In the account of the crime of the Danaids there are certain peculiarities which differentiate it strongly from other Greek myths, and which are of prime importance for a correct understanding of the story. First is the fact that the fifty brothers were slain in their sleep by the brides whom they had just married. Secondly, there is some reason to believe that in the primitive form of the story it was stated unequivocally that the murderous act consisted in the decapitation of the victims. This is not said in so many words in the narratives that have come down to us, and, in fact, the hypothesis is in some degree contravened by the statement of Pseudo-Apollodorus that daggers were used. Favorable to it, however, is the uniform tradition that the heads and the bodies of the murdered men were buried separately. The third point to which special attention should be directed is that either the heads or the bodies of the sons of Aegyptus were sunk in the Lernaean marsh.²

¹ The story of Poseidon and Amymone furnished the subject for numerous sculptures, vase-paintings, coins, etc., for a list of which see Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie* (in I. v. Müller's *Handbuch*), p. 179, n. 3.

² Paus. 2, 24, 2, says the murder was committed in Lerna, and the Danaids cut off the heads of their slain bridegrooms to show to their father. The heads were buried to the left of the road leading up into the Argive acropolis, and the spot was marked by a monument. The bodies were in Lerna. The rest of our authorities, namely, Ps.-Apollodorus 2, 22, Suidas (*s. v.* Λέρη θεατῶν), Zenob. 4, 86, Apostol. 10, 57, say that the heads were buried in the marshy district of Lerna, and Ps.-Apoll. adds that the bodies were buried before the city. The statement of Pausanias is definite and circumstantial, and we can not assume offhand that it is due to a confusion. — In Suidas, Zenobius, and Apostolius *ll. cc.*, Danaus instead of the Danaids is said thus to have disposed of the heads of the murdered youths. A similar confusion

Bearing these points in mind, let us examine some of the explanations of the Danaid myth that have been hitherto offered. That of Schwarz has been already noticed. Somewhat similar is the view of Bachofen,¹ who also seeks an interpretation of the myth in primitive institutions of the ancient world. In his opinion the Danaid myth reflects a state of society in which women had the right of choosing their husbands for themselves, and would resort to desperate methods in order to free themselves from a distasteful and humiliating wedlock. Bachofen finds a confirmation of his view in Pausanias's account of the second marriage of the Danaids, when Danaus announced that he should expect no bridal gifts from the suitors, but each maiden must choose as she pleased, yet afterwards, as only a few suitors appeared, was obliged to allow the victors in the race to choose at will. An arrangement permitting the women to choose is the older gynaecocratic system, according to Bachofen. The fact that the suitors were permitted to choose marks the transition to a society in which woman was subject to man.

The distinction which Bachofen makes between the first and the second plan of Danaus rests upon a mistranslation of Pausanias's words ἡ ἄν ἑκαστος κατὰ κάλλος ἀρέσκηται.² Besides, as will appear later, there is reason to believe that the whole story of the Danaids being forced into a marriage with their cousins is a fiction of poets and mythographers who wished to find some explanation or excuse for the crime attributed to these maidens. Again, Bachofen passes in silence over certain peculiar and important features of the narrative — namely, the manner in which the crime was committed, and the story about the sinking of the heads in the Lernaean marsh. These objections being noted, we may pass to the consideration of a theory which, unlike Bachofen's, has found many adherents.

This is the explanation proposed by Preller in his *Griechische Mythologie*,³ and accepted by Bernhard in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v. *Danaides*,

between father and daughters has been noted in the matter of the invention of wells. See p. 138, and n. 2. Again, in some of the paroemiographers we are told that Aegyptus himself, instead of his sons, was the victim of a blood-stained marriage. Cf. Diogenian. 2, 55, Macar. 1, 48.

¹ *Mutterrecht*, pp. 92-93; cf. *Gräbersymbolik der Alten*, pp. 395-396.

² See Hitzig-Blümner on Paus. 3, 12, 2.

³ Preller-Pleu, *Griech. Mythol.* II³, pp. 46-47.

and, with some modifications relating especially to Aegyptus, by Meyer¹ and Wecklein.² The substance of it is as follows :

The Danaids were the nymphs of the springs of Argolis. Prominent among them was Amymone, the nymph of the ever-flowing fountain at Lerna. The youths whom the fable calls sons of Aegyptus were the streams and rivers of the Argive territory, which in the wet season of the year were violent torrents, and so could be regarded as importunate suitors of the local nymphs. In summer, on the other hand, these streams sank low or were dried up entirely in consequence of the nymphs cutting off the heads of their impetuous lovers — that is, checking the flow of the springs. For the heads of rivers are their springs, and it is in this sense that we must understand the local tradition that the heads of the sons of Aegyptus were buried in the Lernaean marsh ; for the moist district of Lerna was especially rich in springs.

To take up some of the objections to Preller's explanation, we should observe that its advocates are not justified in taking it for granted that the Greeks made common use of the word for *head* in the sense of *headwater, source*. This application of the word *head* is of course very common in English, and in Latin *caput* is used with the same transference of meaning. But the use of κεφαλή, meaning *source*, is very scantily attested. The lexicons give only one certain example, from Herodotus, 4, 91 : Τεάρου ποταμοῦ κεφαλαὶ ὕδωρ ἄριστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον παρέχονται πάντων ποταμῶν. The historian quotes these words from an inscription of Darius, and for this reason Abicht, in his note on the passage, has suggested that the peculiar use of κεφαλή may be due to its representing a word of the Old Persian original, *sir*, which means both *head* and *source*. Macan, on the other hand, doubts whether Herodotus is exactly reproducing the language of any inscription.

Another passage is quoted by Jahn³ in support of Preller's view from Strabo, 8, p. 377 : Εὐρυσθεὺς μὲν οὖν στρατεύσας εἰς Μαραθῶνα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας καὶ Ἰόλαον βοηθησάντων Ἀθηναίων ἱστορεῖται πεσεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα Γαργηττοὶ ταφῆναι, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν χωρὶς ἐν Τρικορύνθῳ, ἀποκόψαντος αὐτὴν Ἰολάου περὶ τὴν

¹ *Forschungen*, I, p. 75.

² *Ber. d. Münch. Akad.* 1893, p. 405 f.

³ *Ber. d. sächs. Akad.* 1869, p. 6, n. 16.

κρήνην τὴν Μακαρίαν ὑπὸ Ἀμαξιτόν· καὶ ὁ τόπος καλεῖται Εὐρυσθέως κεφαλὴ.

This passage undoubtedly makes Preller's explanation of the myth appear more probable, especially since it is another story in which the head of a mythical personage is said to have been buried apart from his body, and that in the vicinity of a spring. But we have not yet proof that the word κεφαλὴ was freely used in common speech with the meaning of κρήνη, πηγή, and this interpretation of it is not helped much by the fact that ancient sculptors sometimes used a human head to indicate the presence of a fountain.¹ Sophocles's *Lexicon of Byzantine Greek* gives no example of κεφαλὴ meaning *spring*, and it is not until the modern period that we find the diminutive κεφαλάρι so used.

But even if there were abundant evidence that the Greeks of the classical period used κεφαλὴ for *source*, *spring*, that fact would not place Preller's explanation beyond question. For, as has been noted above,² Pausanias says that it was the bodies of the murdered youths that were buried in Lerna, their heads being at Argos. He assigns a motive for the decapitation — namely, that the Danaids wished to show the heads to their father as a sign that the deed was done — and this may have led him or his informant to reverse the common tradition. Yet there is always the possibility that Pausanias is faithfully reporting the genuine ancient myth as he heard it from the Argives.

So the story about the heads or the bodies of the sons of Aegyptus being sunk in the Lernaean marsh can not be used to prove the correctness of the "river and spring" theory of the myth. Another bit of evidence cited to support the old explanation is that the invention of wells was ascribed to Danaus or the Danaids — naturally enough if they were indwelling spirits of the Argive springs. But, on the other hand, nothing could be more natural than to attribute the invention of useful arts to legendary and especially to eponymous persons; and the fact that the art of digging wells is specially mentioned merely shows how important it was in thirsty Argos. Again, some have thought that the nymph-like nature of the Danaids is indicated by the fact that they were fifty in number, like the Nereids. But the most enthusiastic advocates

¹ See Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythol.* I⁴, p. 549, n. 1.

² p. 144, n. 2.

of Preller's theory would hardly assert that the fifty daughters of Thespius¹ were fountain-nymphs or that the fifty sons of Priam were rivers or river-divinities, as they explain the sons of Aegyptus. The fact is simply that unusually large families play a part in the folk-tales of all nations, and are not confined to stories about water-sprites, etc.²

The name *Aegyptus* helped to bolster up the theory that the fifty youths of our story were streams—that is, sons of the great world-river of Egypt. But although Homer knows the river by the name *Αἴγυπτος*, Hesiod³ called it the Nile, and that name must have been in general use by the time that the story that Danaus came from Egypt gained currency. Thus it appears in the fragment of the *Danaïs* quoted above (p. 132). Gruppe⁴ remarks "die ägyptische Abstammung des Danaos lässt sich überhaupt nicht über Olympias 60 verfolgen." If this be true, so much the less reason for identifying the Aegyptus of our myth with the great river of Egypt. It is better to regard him merely as the eponym of the Egyptians—a figure even more shadowy than Danaus. Wecklein avoids this difficulty by assuming with Tümpel⁵ that *Αἴγυπτος* meant in the oldest Greek *great river*, or *ocean stream*. But this conjecture has little to support it.

There is nothing in the whole story that obliges us to regard the Danaïds as a sisterhood of nymphs and their cousins as a brotherhood of river-spirits. In the story of the crime the legend treats the persons concerned simply as human beings, and as such we may accept them, although there is some reason to believe that the primitive form of the myth represented the Danaïds as creatures of a demoniac nature, possessing superhuman strength and ferocity.

¹ Or Thespius. See Paus. 9, 27, 6–7, Ps.-Apoll. 2, 65–66.

² In modern folk-lore the numbers seven and twelve are frequent. An adventure of forty brothers with forty dragons is related in Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-lore of Lesbos*, p. 84.

³ *Theog.* 338.

⁴ *Griech. Culte*, p. 164.

⁵ *Jahrb. f. Philol., Suppl.* XVI, p. 361.

V

The circumstance that Preller's explanation of the Danaid myth has a direct bearing upon the natural characteristics of the Argive territory has done much to keep it in favor with scholars. If then it can be shown that myths of a similar type exist in other parts of the world, it will no longer be possible to adhere to an interpretation based on local conditions. Now there is a group of folk-stories current among peoples widely different in language and customs, which when compared one with another are strikingly similar, and which have some points of resemblance to the Danaid myth. From such stories as these we may perhaps reconstruct something like the primitive form of the Danaid myth as told among the early Greeks, before it was amplified and transformed by the speculations of mythographers and poets. The popular tales to which I refer were current even in the nineteenth century in so many nations of Europe that it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the story was known in slightly varying versions from the Caucasus to Iceland.¹ The features of the legend that are common to most of the versions may be gathered from the following outline :

A band of brothers, wandering in a forest by night, lost their way and sought refuge in a hut or a cavern inhabited by an old woman and her daughters, the number of whom always corresponds to that of the brothers. Some versions say that the features of the women indicated their savage and monstrous nature.² But at any rate they received the young men with the appearance of hospitality, and each of the sisters passed the night with one of the guests. The youngest brother, however, who was the shrewdest of all, suspected that some treachery was intended, and, in order to save himself and his brothers, resorted to a ruse. This takes different forms in the several versions of the story. Usually it consists in exchanging the night-caps of the girls for the hats

¹ See Leskien and Brugmann, *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen*, p. 360 f., Waldau, *Böhmisches Märchenbuch*, p. 376 ff., Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, 83, Luzel, *Contes Bretons*, I, Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, II, p. 178 ff., Webster, *Basque Legends*, p. 79, and others to be quoted in the following pages.

² Some of the stories say that the old woman was a witch. In others the father, not the mother, of the girls is mentioned, and he is described as a giant or ogre.

worn by the young men, or else the hair of the girls is cut short after they have fallen asleep, or there is a shifting of positions. Later, the tale goes on, when all appeared to be asleep, the old woman came in with a huge knife to kill the young men, but on account of the darkness she failed to detect the trick, cut off the heads of her own daughters, and did not discover the mistake until day had dawned and the young men had fled.

Besides the variations alluded to in this outline, some others may be briefly mentioned. In one of the stories the father of the youths is their companion in the adventure, and he suggests the stratagem.¹ Another relates that the youngest brother was warned by a horse miraculously endowed with human speech;² still another says that the friendly warning came from a maiden held captive by the ogress and her daughters.³ Other changes were introduced in order to make the somewhat coarse story suitable for young hearers. Thus some of the tales have it that the young men occupied beds on one side of the room, the witch's daughters on the other,⁴ while certain other versions remove the objectionable feature by representing the persons concerned as little children—so, for example, the English nursery story of Hop o' my Thumb, which is said to be derived from a French original. There are even stories that represent the belated wanderers and their entertainers as of the same sex.⁵ In almost all of these stories, after the escape of the young men is described, other incidents are added and the narrative is expanded to some length. The kernel of the story, however, remains as outlined above. Other variations and amplifications may be passed without comment.

Let us now observe some features that these stories have in common with the Danaid myth. The sons of Aegyptus were fifty in number, so also the Danaids. In some of the modern stories the number of the brothers and of the witch's daughters is larger than the ordinary.⁶ The

¹ Imbriani, *La Novellaja Milanese*, 1.

² Leskien and Brugmann, *l. c.*

³ Poestion, *Isländische Märchen*, p. 297 ff.

⁴ *Slavic Tales, from the French of A. Chodsko*, p. 244. Cf. Schiefner, *Awarische Texte*, p. 26 f. I am indebted to the preface of the latter work (p. X ff.) for references to other stories of a similar type.

⁵ Campbell, *Tales of West Highlands*, p. 252, Imbriani, *l. c.*

⁶ The numbers two, three, seven, nine, twelve, and thirteen occur.

sons of Aegyptus were slain in their sleep by their newly wedded brides; in the modern stories the hostess uses her daughters as a means of bringing the guests to their death. The sexual relation appears in both cases; in the Danaid myth it assumes the dignity of a marriage, in some of the folk-tales it is glossed over, while in others it is not in any way disguised. In the story of the Danaids, Danaus appears as the instigator of the crime; in the modern stories the father or the mother of the girls — accounts vary — conceives and executes the deed. In both cases the method of the murder is decapitation — a manner of death which exercised a peculiar fascination upon the imagination of primitive peoples, if we may judge from the frequency of its occurrence in folk-lore.

The chief difference between the Danaid story and these modern folk-tales consists in this, that in the latter all the brothers escape. In the Danaid myth Lynceus escapes by gaining the favor of Hypermetra, but is not able to save his brothers; in the modern stories the clever trick of the youngest brother is introduced, and thus all the youths are saved, while the girls are killed. Yet in one version, the Icelandic story alluded to above (p. 150), there is a character corresponding to Hypermetra, namely, the captive maiden who warns the visitors of their danger; and there is much probability in Laistner's conjecture that more ancient stories of this class represented the young men as delivered by one of the daughters of their treacherous hostess. Even the death of the witch's daughters has a corresponding tradition in some accounts of the Danaids; for, although some writers tell us that the Danaids were married again after the murder of the sons of Aegyptus, there is much reason to believe that we have a more trustworthy authority for the ancient legend in the scholiast of Euripides on *Hec.* 886, who says that Lynceus avenged his brothers by slaying all the Danaids but Hypermetra.¹

The relationship of the Danaid myth to the folk-tales just discussed has been obscured by the later tradition, which smoothed over many

¹ The resemblance of the above-mentioned Icelandic folk-tale to the story of Lynceus and Hypermetra was remarked by Ludwig Laistner in his work *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, II, p. 89. He did not press the comparison, however, and adopted for the Danaid myth a different explanation, to which I shall advert in another chapter. I may here express my indebtedness to Laistner's work for some valuable suggestions and for many citations from modern folk-lore.

hit upon different motives. But the emphasis laid upon the sexual relation in the story of Lynceus and Hypermetra is perhaps significant. Students of folk-lore have observed that the qualities of bloodthirstiness and lasciviousness are frequently conjoined in the female monsters and demons that figure in popular tales and superstitions. This conjunction was apparent in some of the stories that have been brought into comparison with the Danaid myth in the foregoing pages. There is sufficient evidence that such ideas were not foreign to the folk-lore of ancient Greece. Worthy of mention in this connection is a singular story in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*,¹ where the malignant demons called *Empusas*, are thus characterized: ἐρώσι δ' αὐται καὶ ἀφροδισίων μὲν, σαρκῶν δὲ μάλιστα ἀνθρωπείων ἐρώσι καὶ παλεύουσι τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις οὓς ἂν ἐθέλωσι δαΐσασθαι. Perhaps the best example of stories of this class is the one that Eustathius (on *Il.* 10, 531) gives in explanation of the proverb Διομήδεα (or Διομήδειος) ἀνάγκη²: καίτοι τινὲς τὴν τοιαύτην παροιμίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θρακῶς Διομήδους φασὶν ἐκπεσεῖν, ὃς ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς ξένους αἰσχροῖς οὖσαις ταῖς αὐτοῦ θυγατράσι μίγνυσθαι, ἃς καὶ ἵππους ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος ἀλληγορεῖ. εἶτα καὶ ἀνήρει τοὺς μὴ ἐθέλοντας γαμβροὺς ὁ αὐτὸς πενθερὸς, γαμβροκτόνος ὢν καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸν Οἰνόμαον. Similar ideas may underlie the account of Heracles' relation to the fifty daughters of Thespius.³

Now the stories of the daughters of Diomedes and of Thespius were never, so far as we know, made subjects for literary treatment. Had this been true of the Danaid myth also, it might have been preserved to us in a version as rude as those stories. Instead of being depicted as persecuted heroines the Danaids would appear as cruel and wanton monsters, and the account of the escape of Lynceus might afford a close parallel to a story told of the German mythical hero, Wolfdietrich, who frustrated the murderous designs of a magician, in whose castle he lodged, by resisting the advances of the magician's daughter, his companion for the night.⁴

¹ 4, 25 (pp. 143-146, Kays.). Cf. Ar. *Ecol.* 1056, Luc. *Ver. Hist.* 2, 46.

² Cf. Schol. Ar. *Ecol.* 1029, and Hesychius, s. v. Διομήδειος ἀνάγκη. Laistner observed the resemblance between the Danaids and the daughters of Diomedes, *op. cit.* I, p. 290. For a full discussion of demons of the Empusa type, cf. I, p. 60 ff.

³ Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2, 66; Paus. 9, 27, 6-7.

⁴ *Wolfdietrich*, ed. Amelung and Jänicke, B III, 531 ff. (pp. 247 ff.).

It must be admitted that even if the relation of the Danaid story to folk-tales of the Hop o' my Thumb type is established, we have not yet arrived at an interpretation of the myth — that is, an explanation of its origin. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to account for the rise and the wide diffusion of such stories. Such broadcast dissemination can hardly be explained as the consequence of a literary tradition, and the rude character of most of the narratives is against such a supposition. Again, it might be suggested that the prototype of stories of this formula belonged to the folk-lore of that primitive race from which most European nations are supposed to be descended, and hence it was handed down to later generations in slightly varying but essentially similar forms. But the story is not confined to Indo-European peoples, as a version of it is found among the Avars of the Caucasus, who are probably of Ural-Altaic stock, and also among the Basques, whose origin is uncertain, but probably not Indo-European. Undoubtedly it is possible for folk-tales of one tribe to be transmitted to another, especially a neighboring one, even though the two be different in race, language, and customs. Yet in view of the wide dispersion of folk-stories of the form in question, we are forced to admit that the resemblance of one to another and of all to the Danaid myth may be the result of "parallel workings of the mythopoeic instinct" — if I may use Professor Gardner's phrase. Thus in the end we turn the question over to the anthropologist and the psychologist, and let them explain, if they can, why the imagination of primitive man peoples the solitudes of mountain and forest with bloodthirsty monsters, and why the stories told about these beings among peoples far distant from one another exhibit such striking similarities.

It is a singular coincidence — I do not venture to call it anything more — that the Danaid task of endless water-drawing figures in two of those "Hop o' my Thumb" tales which for other reasons I have brought into comparison with the story of the Danaids. In the Icelandic version, the witch punishes the captive maiden who aided the young men to escape by laying a spell upon her and compelling her constantly to draw water from one well and pour it into another. In the version current among the Avars the youngest of the brothers delays the treacherous plan of the witch, who is as stupid as she is ferocious, by sending her to bring water from the river in a sieve.

VI

The story that the heads or the bodies of the murdered sons of Aegyptus were sunk in the marshy region of Lerna was adduced, as we have seen, as important evidence for Preller's explanation of our myth. I have shown that it has little or no corroborative value for that theory. It is probably an aetiological myth of somewhat later growth than the Danaid myth proper — by which I mean the primitive folk-story discussed in the last chapter — and was invented to explain some ancient and obscure religious ceremony performed at Lerna.

Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* 35) gives the following description of a peculiar Dionysiac rite practiced among the Argives: 'Αργείοις δὲ βουγενὴς Διόνυσος ἐπὶ κλινῇ ἐστίν· ἀνακαλοῦνται δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ σαλπείγων ἐξ ὕδατος, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἄρνα τῷ Πυλαόχῳ· τὰς δὲ σάλπιγγας ἐν θύρσοις ἀποκρύπτουσιν κτλ.¹ The ἄβυσσος here mentioned is the bottomless Alcyonian lake of the Lernaean district, as is proved by a passage in the scholiast of Pindar, *Ol.* 7, 60, who says that the bottomless spring was at Lerna, and by a fuller description in Paus. 2, 37, 5–6. I quote a part of the latter passage: εἶδον δὲ καὶ πηγὴν Ἀμφιαράου καλουμένην καὶ τὴν Ἀλκυονίαν λίμνην, δι' ἧς φασιν Ἀργεῖοι Διόνυσον εἰς τὸν Αἰδὸν ἐλθεῖν Σεμέλην ἀνάξοντα, τὴν δὲ ταύτην κάθοδον δεῖξαι οἱ Πόλυμνον. τῇ δὲ Ἀλκυονίᾳ πέρας τοῦ βάθους οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ τινα οἶδα ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ τέρμα αὐτῆς οὐδεμῇ μηχανῇ καθίκεσθαι δυνηθέντα . . . τὰ δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν Διονύσῳ δρώμενα ἐν νυκτὶ κατὰ ἔτος ἑκάστον οὐχ ὅσιον εἰς ἅπαντας ἦν μοι γράψαι.

The mystic character of the rite in question is evident from these descriptions. The Lernaean mysteries are thought to have been an offshoot of the Eleusinian,² in which case the antiquity of ceremonies that appear to be connected with the Lernaean mysteries would be liable to suspicion. But it is probable that the Lernaean mysteries were founded on a site already held in veneration because of some strange, ill-understood acts of worship that were performed there; and as the very form of the ceremony described by Plutarch points to an origin in a remote and primitive period, we need not regard it as an

¹ Cf. Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 4, 6 (p. 671 E), Poll. 4, 86.

² Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythol.* I⁴, p. 691.

innovation merely because of its association with a later cult. Peculiar as the ceremony is, some light is thrown upon it by recent investigations in primitive religion. Evidently the lamb thrown into the bottomless lake is the representative of an indwelling spirit of vegetation, who sinks into the bowels of the earth for a time and returns in due season. A later deistic conception changed the vegetation-spirit into an anthropomorphic god, Dionysus, and so the lamb became an offering to the Gate-keeper of the lower world, whither the god had gone. The whole idea has a fairly close analogy in a singular custom observed at the Thesmophoria.¹ Pigs were thrown into certain caverns or underground chambers called μέγαρα and allowed to die there. After a time the decayed flesh was brought up, cut into bits, and mixed with the seed-grain in the belief that a good crop was thus insured. The character of this ceremony, and especially the disgusting feature described in the last sentence, shows that in this case, too, the victims represent a spirit of vegetation — the corn-demon — whom later thought elevated to the dignity of a deity, namely Persephone.² The significance of the ancient ceremony being forgotten, an aetiological myth sprang up to meet the need of an explanation for the peculiar custom. Hence the story of the swineherd Eubuleus, in memory of whom, according to the later legend, pigs were thrown into the subterranean chambers.³

Now the strange ceremony at the Alcyonian lake also appears to have given rise to aetiological myths, as is natural enough in view of its very unusual form.⁴ Thus we read in Schol. *Il.* 14, 319: *τινὲς δὲ φασὶ πλείονα Ἑρακλέους αὐτὸν (i. e. Περσέα) εἰργασμένον οὐ τυχεῖν δόξης, ὅτι Διόνυσον ἀνείλεν εἰς τὴν Λερναίαν ἐμβαλὼν λίμνην.* The relation of this story to the Lernaean mysteries was observed by Lobeck.⁵ It is

¹ Described in a scholium on Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 2, 1, published by E. Rohde in *Kh. Mus.* XXV, p. 548 ff. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 2, § 17, Paus. 9, 8, 1, Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 827 ff., and especially Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, p. 44 ff.

² Frazer, *l. c.*

³ Preller-Robert, p. 779 and n. 1.

⁴ Unusual, but not without parallel. Diod. 5, 4 has the following: *τὸν γὰρ Πλούτωνα μυθολογοῦσι τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ποιησάμενον ἀποκομίσαι τὴν Κόρην ἐφ' ἄρματος πτησίῳ τῶν Συρακουσῶν, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀναρρήξαντα αὐτὸν μὲν μετὰ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς δύναι καθ' ἄδου, πηγὴν δ' ἀνείναι τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Κυάνην, πρὸς ἣ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ Συρακόσιοι πανηγυρίαν ἐπιφανῆ συντελοῦσι, καὶ θύουσιν οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται τὰ ἐλάττω τῶν λερείων, δημοσίᾳ δὲ ταύρους βυθίζουσιν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ.* — Cf. also 4, 23.

⁵ *Aglaoph.* p. 574, note. — Cf. Eustath. *Il.* *l. c.*

the more noteworthy because most of the writers who relate that Dionysus was slain by Perseus say that the body of the god was buried at Delphi.¹ This story, then, I conceive to have been invented to explain the throwing of the lamb into the bottomless lake; and as it is hardly to be expected that the ingenuity of myth-makers should rest content with one aetiological story, it is not surprising that we have another, which in my opinion may have arisen from this same ceremony—be it sacrificial, expiatory, or magical—and this is the story that the heads of the sons of Aegyptus were sunk in the marshy region of Lerna.

The opinion expressed in the above paragraph had already been formulated when my attention was called to the fact that a similar view is entertained by Gruppe in his *Griechische Mythologie*, part I, p. 180.² The author treats the subject very briefly, and the exact bearing of his explanation of the story is not clear. He may have reserved a full discussion of the question for the second part of his work, which I have not seen. Gruppe's words are as follows: "Ein dritter Hadeseingang war der angeblich unergründliche 'alkyonische' Teich, in welchen Sühnopfer hineingeworfen wurden, nach der aitiologischen Legende, weil hier die Danaiden ihre mit ihnen vermählten Vettern, des Aigyptos Söhne getötet und die Leichen oder deren Köpfe vergraben, und dann—so muss die Legende wohl ergänzt werden—als eine furchtbare Trockenheit das Land zur Strafe heimsuchte, von Athena und Hera (*sic*) gereinigt, hier das Sühnopfer dargebracht." Although Gruppe mentions the ceremony described by Plutarch, he does not seem to recognize any relationship between it and the feature of the Danaid myth that is under discussion. The same is true of the story that the body of Dionysus was thrown into the Lernaean lake—a myth which I regard as an important connecting link between the lamb-ceremony and the act of the Danaids. He appears to have had in mind certain rites of purification which it was customary to perform at the Lernaean lake. Apropos of them the following passages may be quoted.

Strabo, 8, 6 (p. 371). δαίνονται δὲ καὶ Ἀμυμόνη τις κρήνη κατὰ Λέρνην. ἥ δὲ Λέρνη λίμνη τῆς Ἀργείας ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Μυκηναίας, ἐν ᾗ τὴν Ὑδραν ἱστοροῦσι. δαδὲ δὲ τοὺς γινομένους καθαρμούς ἐν αὐτῇ παροιμία τις ἐξέτερε "Λέρνη κακῶν."

¹ See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 573, and the authorities there cited.

² I. v. Müller's *Handbuch*, V, Abt. 2.

Zenob. 4, 86. Δέρη κακῶν· παροιμία τίς ἐστὶν Ἀργολικὴ, ἣν ἀποδομοπούμενοι ἔλεγον. τὰ γὰρ καθάρματα εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐνέβαλλον . . . ἀκριβέστερον δ' ἂν τις τὴν παροιμίαν φαίη ἀπὸ τίνος ἱστορίας διαδεδοσθαι. Δαναὸς γὰρ ἱστορεῖται τὰς τῶν Αἰγυπτιαδῶν κεφαλὰς αὐτόθι καταθεῖναι.¹

The ceremony described by Plutarch may have been regarded as a *καθαρμός*, especially in later times, and as such may be one of the expiatory rites that Gruppe had in mind. If so, I have added little to the explanation that he proposed. It is to be observed, however, that according to my view the story that Danaus or the Danaids buried the heads or the bodies of the murdered men in Lerna is itself an aetiological myth. Gruppe appears to lay more stress upon a story which is not attested in ancient writers, but which he conjectures to have been a part of the ancient legend — that the Danaids made expiatory sacrifices for their crime at Lerna.

In view of the foregoing discussion, some importance may perhaps be attached to the statement of Herodotus (2, 171) that the Danaids introduced the festival of the Thesmophoria from Egypt and instructed the Pelasgian women in the mysteries of Demeter, but in his day the Thesmophoria were no longer celebrated in Peloponnesus, except among the Arcadians. The derivation of the Thesmophoric rites from Egyptian ceremonies of similar nature is to be judged as we judge other conjectures of Herodotus along this line. But if the name Thesmophoria be not pressed, the passage may at least indicate that legends of the Danaids were in one way or another brought into connection with the religious antiquities of Argos. Certain it is that numerous memorials of Danaus and the Danaids were scattered over the very district where the Lernaean mysteries were held.²

¹ Cf. also Suidas, s. v. Δέρη θεατρῶν, and Apostol. 10, 57.

² See Paus. 2, 37, 1-3. Jahn expressly denies that the Danaid myth can be connected with the Lernaean mysteries (*Ber. d. sächs. Akad.* 1869, p. 5 ff., esp. n. 18). Ed. Meyer declines to express an opinion (*Forschungen*, I, p. 75, n. 3).

VII

In the first chapter of this paper I adverted to the discrepancies in the accounts of various incidents of the Danaid myth that were said to have taken place after the death of the sons of Aegyptus. There were contradictory statements as to whether Aegyptus came to Argos or not. Again, there was a legend that Danaus was brought to trial for complicity in the murder of his sons-in-law, while another story represented Hypermestra as prosecuted by her father because she had disobeyed him and spared her husband's life. Hermann attempted to show that these two stories were reconciled and combined in a trilogy or tetralogy of which the *Supplices* was the first piece.¹ But it seems highly improbable that Aeschylus would have used this trial-motive twice in the same trilogy. It is more natural to assume with Meyer² that there are two distinct traditions. Aeschylus used the story of the trial of Hypermestra, treating it like the trial of Orestes in the *Eumenides*. The trial of Danaus is known to us through Euripides and his scholiast. However, the decision of questions of this sort is of little importance for the present investigation, which seeks to present the primitive myth, and is less concerned with the modifications the myth has experienced in the course of literary treatment. Courts of justice have no place in primitive folk-stories. They are brought into the Danaid myth as fictions of poets and local chroniclers.

Another local legend, of an aetiological character, was concerned with the escape of Lynceus. Pausanias (2, 25, 4) says that Lynceus fled to Lyrceia — formerly Lynceia, according to his statement — and kindled a bale-fire there as a sign to Hypermestra that he had reached a place of safety. She lighted an answering beacon on the top of Larisa. In memory of this the Argives celebrate an annual festival of beacon-fires. Other stories, however, had it that Lynceus did not escape without difficulty, but was for a time in the power of Danaus. The peril of

Hermann, *de Aeschyli Danaidibus* (*Opusc.* II, p. 330).

² *Forschungen*, p. 83, n. 4. Cf. p. 84, "Der Kern der Erzählung von dem Process oder vielmehr der Rettung der Hypermnestra vor dem Zorn ihres Vaters ist vielleicht älter, aber ihre Ausbildung ist gewiss das Werk des Aeschylus. Die Analogie mit den Eumeniden fällt in die Augen."

Lynceus was the theme of a play of Theodectes, of which Aristotle preserves these two fragments:

Poet. p. 1452 a, 27 ff. καὶ ἐν τῷ Λυγκεῖ ὁ μὲν ἀγόμενος ὡς ἀποθανού-
μενος, ὁ δὲ Δαναὸς ἀκολουθῶν ὡς ἀποκτενῶν, τὸν μὲν συνέβη ἐκ τῶν
πεπραγμένων ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ σωθῆναι.

Ibid. p. 1455 b, 29 ff. ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Λυγκεῖ τῷ Θεοδέκτου δέσις μὲν
τὰ προπεπραγμένα καὶ ἡ τοῦ παιδίου λήψις, λύσις δ' ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτιάσεως
τοῦ θανάτου μέχρι τοῦ τέλους.¹

A Byzantine historian cites Archilochus as authority for a story that Lynceus made war upon Danaus, killed him, and seized his kingdom.² Others said that both Danaus and his daughters were put to death by Lynceus.³ On the other hand, some writers leave us to infer that Danaus died a natural death,⁴ and Pseudo-Apollodorus indicates that Danaus and Lynceus were reconciled, since he says that Danaus finally restored Hypermetra to her husband.⁵ The vengeance taken by Lynceus upon the Danaids and their father has a parallel, as we have seen, in some modern folk-stories that resemble it in other respects as well. But the only inference that we can draw from these confused and contradictory statements about Lynceus is that none of the versions can be selected with certainty as preserving the form of the primitive myth, and all alike may be the inventions of local chroniclers and poets.

The story that after the murder of their cousins the Danaids were given in marriage to noble Argive youths, who were matched against one another in a foot-race, has not come down to us in an uncontradicted tradition, as appears from the last paragraph.⁶ Yet this contest of the Argive suitors is made the central feature of the whole myth in the explanation proposed by Laistner,⁷ which I must now discuss briefly. Laistner finds an analogy to the Danaid myth in a German story which

¹ An obscure fragment. The word *παιδίου* can hardly be applied to Lynceus, and its reference is uncertain.

² Ioan. Malal. *Chron.* 4, *ad init.* Cf. Interp. Serv. *Aen.* 10, 497.

³ So Schol. Eur. *Hec.* 886, and perhaps Ovid, *Her.* 14.

⁴ Paus. 2, 16, 1. Hyg. *Fab.* 170, *ad fin.* (p. 34, 4 ff. Schmidt).

⁵ *Bibl.* 2, 22; cf. Schol. Eur. *Or.* 871.

⁶ See also p. 133.

⁷ *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, I, pp. 283-292.

is about as follows: A herdsman who was pasturing his cattle at the foot of a mountain was once approached by a maiden clothed in white, who besought him to deliver her from an enchantment. This he could do by carrying water three times to the top of the mountain in two golden buckets, which she gave him. On the three trips the herdsman was threatened successively by a herd of stags, a flock of wild geese, and a drove of wild oxen. The stags and the geese did him no harm, because he went his way without heeding them; but he took fright at the oxen and ran away, so the charm was broken and the maiden had to wait for another deliverer. In some other stories of this type, it appears that death was the penalty for failure to accomplish the task set by the fairy.

From an examination of a number of stories of this type Laistner constitutes a mythical formula, which disregards unessential variations of the stories, as follows: A water-carrying field fairy is freed from an enchantment by a man who, in order to accomplish her deliverance, has to perform some feat involving bravery, strength, or endurance, as well as mortal danger in case of failure. The Danaids, according to Laistner, were such enchanted maidens. The endless water-carrying to which they were condemned in Hades corresponds to the magic spell from which the white maiden of the German story begs deliverance; while, from another point of view, the water-carrying in both cases goes back to a time when the Danaids, as well as the white maiden, were conceived as nymphs of the rain or the dew. Just as Laistner believes the water-carrying to be an ancient and essential feature of the story, so he thinks that the race of the Argive suitors belongs to the primitive myth, answering to the herdsman's running three times up the mountain. Originally the Danaids were isolated figures in the popular legends, and when they were united into a sisterhood of fifty at a later period in the development of the story, their mortal deliverers were matched against one another in a race, instead of having to contend with physical obstacles or objects of terror. The sons of Aegyptus were men who failed in the attempt to free the enchanted maidens, and so lost their lives. The story that Lynceus was saved by his bride from the fate that befell the other sons of Aegyptus did not, in Laistner's opinion, belong to the primitive myth, but was borrowed from some folk-tale like that Icelandic version of the "Hop o' my Thumb" legend,

which has been mentioned in a previous chapter.¹ It was introduced into the Danaid myth by some Argive genealogist, who wished to represent one of the daughters of Danaus as a shining exception among the barbarous sisterhood, and to trace the royal line of Argos back to her union with an Egyptian prince.

Whatever may be said of the main thesis of Laistner's work, he has rendered no small service to mythological study by pointing out the resemblances that exist between Greek myths and the folk-lore of northern peoples. His explanation of the story of the Danaids is therefore entitled to serious consideration. It has, however, certain difficulties. First, while it is not impossible nor unreasonable that stories about a sisterhood of malevolent demons should arise from superstitions about single beings of this kind, it must be remembered that our oldest records of the myth speak not of single Danaids, but of a sisterhood, and besides, we have similar stories from numerous other peoples in which a group of monstrous women are concerned in a plot like that of the Danaids. It is still harder to accept Laistner's view in regard to the origin of the story about the race of the Argive suitors. Again, the story of Hypermestra is rejected on very slight grounds. While Laistner holds that it was interpolated into the Danaid myth from some story like the Icelandic *Märchen* of the "Hop o' my Thumb" formula, we may see in the Icelandic story a testimony to the genuineness and antiquity of the Hypermestra-motive in the Danaid myth.

But Laistner's chief error consists in this, that he regards the race of the Argive suitors as the most important feature of the myth,² and combines with it the legend of the endless labor of the Danaids. Yet the sources from which we derive our knowledge of the myth indicate clearly that these two things belong to distinct traditions which are not easy to reconcile. Our information about the race of the suitors comes from Pindar, Pausanias, and Pseudo-Apollodorus, not one of whom manifests any knowledge of the story about the punishment of the Danaids in the lower world. Hyginus knows the story of the Danaid task, and also says that the Danaids were married to Argive husbands after the death of their father. He does not, however, say that the

¹ See p. 150, n. 3.

² *Rätsel der Sphinx*, I, p. 291. "Die Hauptsache aber blieb der Lauf der 'Erlöser' nach dem Ziel, wo die Prinzessinnen standen."

suitors were matched against one another in an athletic contest.¹ On the other hand, among the numerous passages in later writers that refer to the punishment of the Danaids, none allude to their second marriage. This is natural enough, for the story that the crime-stained women were married again and lived happily ever after could hardly co-exist with a wide-spread popular belief that they were doomed to undergo a special punishment in Hades.

So far from believing that the race of the Argive suitors is the essential feature of the Danaid myth, I am convinced that that story, as well as the statement that the Danaids were purified from their guilt by Hermes and Athena, is alien to the primitive legend and is an invention of Argive chroniclers and genealogists, whose object was to trace the noble families of Argos back to the most ancient figures of Argive legend, Danaus and his family. As the common version represented the Danaids as bloodthirsty monsters, and related that they were put to death by the sole survivor of the fifty brothers, it became necessary in some way to clear their reputation and to invent a second marriage for them. That Pindar should adopt the more refined version of the legend is perfectly natural and in accord with his manner of treating myths. Pausanias also may have got his information from Argive priests or other local story-tellers, who would be disposed to give an account flattering to the ancient aristocracy of Argos rather than to adhere to the original form of the myth. Yet even Pausanias's account of the Danaids does not ignore the fact that they were regarded as tainted criminals.²

A proof that the race of the Argive wooers is a later addition to the myth, and is not *märchenhaft*, may be discerned in the fact that no danger was involved in the contest. Yet in the folk-stories upon which Laistner bases his theory, the task that the "deliverer" has to perform involves difficulty and danger, or else death is the penalty for failure. Such stories were not unknown to the Greeks: witness the myths of Atalanta and Hippodameia. In answer to this argument for the later origin of the story of the race, Laistner has only the conjecture that when the enchanted maidens were united into a sisterhood, the deliverers were matched against one another instead of being made to undertake a

¹ The passage quoted on p. 138, n. 3, appears to refer to a festival in which musical performances played the principal part.

² See p. 134.

dangerous feat—a decidedly improbable supposition. Again, Laistner sees in the murdered sons of Aegyptus would-be deliverers who lost their lives in the attempt to free the Danaids from an enchantment. But this identification runs counter to the tradition of the myth, which does not indicate the remotest connection between the fate of the princes and any dangerous exploit involved in the wooing of their cousins. The murder of the fifty youths belongs to the ancient folk-tale that is the nucleus of the Danaid myth. The race of the Argive suitors and the second marriage of the Danaids were trumped up in order to remove certain difficulties in the legendary genealogy of the royal house of Argos.¹

VIII

Recent study of the Danaid myth has concerned itself chiefly with the endless punishment inflicted on the Danaids in Hades. This punishment had passed into a proverb in the later period of Greek literature, is very frequently mentioned by Latin writers, and is represented on several works of ancient art. The old explanation of the myth represented the Danaids as nymphs of fountains. According to this view the eternal water-pouring would be only a sign of their guardianship of springs and wells, which the later legend regarded as a punishment for the murder of their husbands. In recent years, however, a different interpretation of this feature of the myth has been proposed and widely accepted. This view will be developed in the following pages.

We have seen² that the peculiar punishment of the Danaids was first mentioned in the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochus*. But from a peculiar punning passage in the *Gorgias*, p. 493 A–C, it appears that certain mystic eschatologies of the day assigned to the souls of mortals that had never been initiated into the mysteries a similar task—to carry water with a sieve and fill a leaky vessel. A briefer allusion in

¹ As this chapter has dealt with the story of the second marriage of the Danaids, I add here without comment references to some passages in which some of the daughters of Danaus are said to have been married to Achaean heroes: Paus. 7, 1, 6; Herodotus 2, 98; Istrus apud Steph. Byz. s. v. Ὀλέρος; Eust. *Il.* 11, 756 (p. 883, 1).

² p. 136.

the *Republic* (2, p. 363 D-E) gives this punishment to the impious and unjust in general, without naming any particular class. Plutarch¹ says that certain rites of purification were considered a safeguard against such a punishment in the lower world; hence we may infer that the superstition that he had in mind attributed the endless task to souls of uninitiated persons. Passing allusions in Xenophon² and in Diogenes Laertius³ are of somewhat uncertain bearing. It is probable, however, that these writers intended to refer not to the task of the Danaids, but to that of the irreligious or the despisers of the mysteries. Suidas and the paroemiographers also refer to the endless water-carrying of the uninitiated, sometimes side by side with the statement that the Danaids suffered this punishment in Hades.⁴ Much more numerous are the cases in which this endless toil is attributed to the Danaids;⁵ Latin writers, in fact, seem to know nothing of the fables that assigned it to mortals who neglected the mysteries.

Among the pictorial representations of the task of eternal water-carrying, the celebrated painting of Polygnotus deserves first mention. It was in the Lesche of the Cnicians at Delphi, and is described by Pausanias. Besides many other scenes in Hades, Pausanias says that two women, one young, the other old, were represented carrying water in broken vessels.⁶ Over them was an inscription signifying that they had not been initiated into the mysteries. In another group, which he describes shortly afterward,⁷ there were persons of both sexes and of various ages carrying water to fill a large vessel (*πίθος*). The hydria carried by one of the figures appeared to be broken. Pausanias says nothing about the large vessel being leaky, but as it was probably

Plut. *non posse suau. vivi*, p. 1105 A.

¹ Xen. *Oec.* 7, 40.

² Diog. Laert. 4, 7, 50.

³ Suidas, s. *υυ. ἀπληστία, εἰς τὸν τετραγμένον, εἰς τετραγμένον πίθον ἀντλεῖν*; Zenob. 2, 6; Apostol. 6, 79.

⁴ Plut. *Sept. sap. conv.* 16 (p. 160 B); Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 11, 4, *Dial. Mar.* 6, *ad fin.*, with scholl., *Tim.* 18, *Hermot.* 61; Alciphro. *Epist.* 1, 2; Porphyry. *de abst.* 3, 27; Macar. 3, 16; Apostol. 6, 79; Zenob. 2, 6; Suidas, s. *υυ. ἀπληστία, εἰς τετραγμένον πίθον ἀντλεῖν*; Scholl. *Gu. I.* on Eur. *Hec.* 886; Hor. *Carm.* 3, 11, 21, and 2, 14, 17; *Tibull.* 1, 3, 79; Ovid, *Metam.* 4, 462, and 10, 43, *Ib.* 177; Seneca, *Med.* 751, *Herc. Fur.* 761; Lucr. 3, 1006 ff.

⁵ Paus. 10, 31, 9.

⁷ 10, 31, 11.

represented as sunk in the ground after the Greek fashion the leak would not be visible. Pausanias supposed that this group also represented people who had made light of the sacred rites of Eleusis, and there is no reason to think that he was mistaken. The figures around the great vessel are probably to be taken together with the two women described as uninitiated, in spite of the fact that in Pausanias's description some figures intervene between the two groups. The circumstance that the intervening figures are said to have been on a higher level than the first group removes all difficulties in the way of bringing the two groups of ἀμύητοι together.

Then there is a black-figured Attic lekythos published by Heydemann,¹ which has a rough representation of men and women hurrying to pour water into a large jar. The presence of Ocnus and his ass in the design shows that the scene is in Hades.² The fact that some of the water-carriers are men indicates that we are not dealing with the task of the Danaids. Heydemann, it is true, did not regard the figures as ἀμύητοι because the vessels that they carry are not broken.³ This, however, is a matter of little consequence. Anybody familiar with the myth would understand that the large vessel was perforated, although only the upper part of it is shown in the picture, and the task would be recognized as an endless one, which is the point of chief importance.

Representations of the task of the Danaids are more numerous. Especially interesting is a black-figured vase of the Munich collection,⁴ which shows Sisyphus rolling his stone up a steep rock, and near by some small winged female figures climbing up the sides of a huge πίθος and pouring water into it from the pitchers that they carry. These are supposed to be Danaids in the guise of εἰδωλα — hence the wings. Then there are several large red-figured amphoras from Lower Italy,⁵

¹ *Arch. Zeit.* XXVIII (1871), pp. 42-43, pl. 31, 22; Furtwängler, *Arch. Ans.* 1890, p. 24.

² See Paus. 10, 29, 1-2; *Museo Pio-Clementino*, IV, pl. 36.

³ Kuhnert (*Jahrb. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893, p. 110) calls them ἀγαμοί, because the men are all beardless youths.

⁴ Cf. Jahn, *Vasensammlung König Ludwigs I*, no. 153. A cut in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v. *Danaides*, and in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, Abb. 2040.

⁵ *Monum. Ined.* VIII, pl. 9 (also in Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 2042 A); *ibid.* II, pl. 49 (also in *Arch. Zeit.* I, pl. 11); Raoul-Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.* pl. 45 = *Arch.*

which are adorned with scenes like that described by Horace (*Carm.* 3, 11, 21 ff.) and Ovid (*Metam.* 10, 41 ff.)—Orpheus singing in Hades and the Danaids among the hearers. Some of these pictures show the great vessel that the Danaids are to fill, in others the urns that the maidens carry are the only indication of their punishment. Another noteworthy monument is a well-head in the Galleria dei Candelabri of the Vatican,¹ on which the Danaids are represented trying to fill a large jar which is cracked at the bottom. Near by is Ocnus with the ass. Still another important representation of the Danaids is a Roman mural painting preserved in the Vatican Library—one of a series of landscapes with scenes from the Odyssey.² The scene is in Hades. In the foreground the Danaids are trying to fill the leaky vessel; in other parts of the picture Tityos, Sisyphus, and Orion (?) are represented. There are some other monuments that can with more or less certainty be referred to the Danaid myth, but they do not merit more than a passing mention.³

If we should judge from archaeological evidence only, it would remain doubtful whether the task of filling a leaky vessel was first attributed to the Danaids or to the uninitiated. Since the literary evidence that assigns it to the uninitiated is somewhat older than the passages that refer it to the Danaids, many writers have assumed that this singular punishment was first thought of as peculiar to those who neglected the mysteries,⁴ and was in some way or other transferred to the Danaids at a later period. This cannot, however, be regarded as certain. It may

Zeit. I, pl. 13; *Bull. Arch. Napol. (Nuov. Ser.)* III, pl. 3—cf. p. 49 ff., where Minervini discusses a number of works of art that represent the Danaids.

¹ *Mus. Pio-Clem.* IV, pl. 36, 36*.

² Published by Wörmann, *Die antiken Odysseelandschaften vom esquil. Hügel*, pl. VII. A cut in Roscher, *s. v. Orion*, col. 1023.

³ *Catalogue of Vases in Brit. Mus.* IV, F 210; drawings from Cod. Pighianus in *Ber. sächs. Akad.* 1869, pl. I, II 1, II B7, III D; cf. p. 11, p. 267 of the text. Referred to the Danaid myth with less certainty: Campana, *Due Sepolcri Romani*, pl. 2 C and 7 B (see Jahn in *Ber. sächs. Akad.* 1869, p. 11), *Catalogue of Vases in Brit. Mus.* III E, 186.

⁴ See P. Schuster, *Rh. Mus.* XXIX, p. 628. G. F. Creuzer, *Symb. und Myth.* IV, 146, and Bachofen, *Gräbersymbolik*, p. 395 ff., had already for different reasons contended that the story of the punishment was a later addition to the Danaid myth. See also A. B. Cook, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* XIV, p. 98.

be only accidental that the punishment of the ἀμύητοι is mentioned at an earlier date than the labor of the Danaids. Apropos of this, some remarks of Hirzel¹ are quite to the point: "Dass es uns aber für das höhere Alter der Danaidenversion an äusseren Zeugnissen mangelt, kann Zufall sein. Im Übrigen ist nicht einzusehen, weshalb man später noch gerade die unglücklichen Danaiden für diese Strafe sollte ausersehen haben. Die umgekehrte Entwicklung ist viel wahrscheinlicher. Statt sich zu verengen geht die Vorstellung immer ins Weite. Vielleicht deutet darauf auch ein Fragment des Komikers Philetäros bei Meineke, III, 299:

ὦ Ζεῦ, καλόν γ' ἔστ' ἀποθανεῖν αὐλούμενον·
 τούτοις ἐν ᾧδου γὰρ μόνοις ἐξουσία
 ἀφροδισιάζειν ἐστίν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς τρόπους
 ῥυπαροὺς ἔχοντες μουσικῆς ἀπειρία
 εἰς τὸν πίθον φέρουσι τὸν τετρημένον."

Certainly it seems more likely that a peculiar punishment assigned by popular legend to certain mythological characters should be transferred to a large class of evil-doers than that the reverse process should have taken place. Other instances of such a transference might be revealed by a careful search. At present I can refer only to a passage in the Apocalypse of Peter (32), where a certain class of wicked souls are said to be driven up a steep cliff, then down again, and so their torture is kept up eternally—a punishment that may be a reminiscence of the torment of Sisyphus.

The view that the labor of filling a leaky vessel was originally assigned in popular fables to mortals who had scorned the mystic rites and was transferred to the Danaids at a later date has been taken up by many scholars, largely through the influence of Erwin Rohde. That distinguished scholar, in the first edition of his *Psyche* (p. 292, n. 1), conjectured that the myth grew out of the double meaning of the word τέλος. Those who were not initiated into the mysteries remained ἀτελεῖς ἱερῶν;² hence they were condemned to ὑδρεῖαι ἀτελεῖς.³ Later in place of the ἀμύητοι, the Danaids were introduced into the fable as

¹ *Comm. in hon. Momms.* p. 14, n. 5.

² *Hom. Hymn to Ceres*, 482.

³ See *Axiochus*, l. c.

being γάμων ἀτελείς,¹ for the Greeks regarded marriage as a sacred rite, a τέλος.² In this light Rohde interprets the custom of placing a λουτροφόρος on the graves of unmarried persons³—a sign that they must forever carry water in the lower world.

This view was accepted by Kuhnert, Dieterich, and Frazer, all of whom have made contributions to the literature of the subject.⁴ But in the second edition of *Psyche* (I, p. 326 ff.), Rohde discussed the task of the Danaids at greater length, and modified the opinion he had formerly expressed in some important particulars. He gave up the contention that the punishment ascribed to the Danaids was borrowed from fables about the unhappy lot of the uninitiated, and substituted a theory about as follows: The primitive Greeks had a superstition that persons who died unmarried were punished in the other world by being compelled to carry water eternally, as if for the customary bridal bath—thus trying to perform a ceremony that they had neglected on earth. This punishment was made to serve a religious purpose by the mystic poets, who applied it to the souls of those who neglected the Eleusinian rites; and so the old superstition about the fate of the ἀγαμοί was forgotten. Still later some poet substituted the Danaids for the ἀγαμοί and the ἀμήγροι,⁵ and the older fables were entirely forgotten. In support of Rohde's view, Waser⁶ cites a legend of the Swiss canton, Wallis, according to which the shades of men who die unmarried haunt a certain spot on the bank of the Rhone, where they are condemned to carry sand from the river up a steep mountain in perforated baskets.⁷

Few voices have been raised in opposition to Rohde's theory, but it

¹ Rohde rightly takes the story that the Danaids were put to death by Lynceus to be the older version, and rejects the later fiction of the second marriage.

² Aesch. *Eum.* 838, γαμηλίου τέλους; Soph. *Ant.* 1241, τὰ νυμφικά τέλη.

³ Cf. Demosth. 44, 18.

⁴ Kuhnert, *Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.* VIII (1893), p. 110 f.; Dieterich, *Nekyia*, p. 70, n. 1; Frazer, *Commentary on Pausanias*, vol. V, p. 389.

⁵ A similar opinion was expressed by Wilamowitz, *Eur. Herc. Fur.* 1016. He contends that the persons represented filling the large vessel in Polygnotus's picture were ἀγαμοί,—a view in which I cannot concur.

⁶ *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, II (1899), pts. 1–2, p. 47 ff. Waser accepts Preller's theory that the Danaids were fountain-nymphs of Argos.

⁷ See Rochholz, *Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit*, I, p. 155; Tobler, *Kleine Schriften z. Volks- und Sprachkunde*, p. 136.

seems to me that the objections they urge are cogent. Robert¹ very properly declines to accept the suggestion that the idea of a punishment like the one in question could arise from a play on the word ἀτελείς. Likewise Milchhöfer,² who adds some other criticisms of Rohde's explanation to this effect: The notion of the endless water-carrying imposed as a punishment upon certain unhappy souls may have arisen from some trite domestic proverb about the uselessness and perpetual emptiness of a leaky vessel.³ There is no proof that there was ever a Greek superstition to the effect that souls of unmarried persons were condemned in the other world to carry water perpetually for the nuptial bath. So far as pictorial representations are concerned, the vessels carried by the figures engaged in carrying water are not λουτροφόροι, and the πίθος is not a bath-tub. If the ancient tradition had made it clear that the Danaids died as virgins, it would be easier to believe that they were substituted as ἀτελείς γάμων for the ἀτελείς ἱερῶν. Finally, Milchhöfer remarks, the character of the Danaids as fountain-nymphs must be taken into consideration as bearing upon their task of water-carrying.

While agreeing with most of Milchhöfer's criticisms of Rohde's theory of the myth, I do not follow him in identifying the Danaids with the nymphs of springs, for reasons that have been set forth in another chapter. Yet that old view of Preller's has retained many adherents, simply because if the Danaids were nymphs it was easier to see why the punishment assigned to them should have to do with the carrying or pouring of water. The need of a reason why the punishment should take this particular form rather than another, led me for a time to look with some favor upon Laistner's suggestion⁴ that the Danaids might after all be nymphs, not of springs, but of the rain and the dew. Laistner apparently had in mind beings like certain field demons known from Slavic legends, especially among the Wends and the Lithuanians. These demons were believed to guard the grain-fields against mischievous intruders and to water them in times of drouth. But to human beings they often showed themselves savage and ferocious, and were

¹ *Die Nekyia des Polygnot*, p. 52, n. 27.

² *Philologus*, LIII, p. 397, n. 14.

³ Cf. Lucr. 3, 934 ff., Plaut. *Pseud.* 102 and 369.

⁴ See p. 161.

said to *cut off the heads* of their victims with a sickle.¹ If superstitions of this sort were widely diffused among European nations, and if any trace of them could be found in Greek mythology, we might believe that they had exercised an influence on the development of the Danaid myth. The water-pouring of the Danaids would then be a token of their benevolent activity as spirits that water the fields, which was in later ages misunderstood and interpreted as a punishment. Thus the ancient saying that the Danaids watered thirsty Argos would be something more than a mere piece of Euhemerism. But as we hear of field-demons of the kind in question almost exclusively in Slavic folklore, it does not seem possible to use those stories to clear up any feature of the Danaid myth.

To return to Rohde's theory: I have noted with approval Milchhöfer's objection to it on the ground that Greek folk-lore does not bear out the assumption of a superstition assigning the task of eternal water-carrying to the souls of persons who died before marriage. Waser does not help Rohde's case by the modern instance that he cites. The Swiss story bears a general resemblance to that about the fate of the Danaids, — the sand escapes from the baskets just as the water runs out of the leaky vessels of the Danaids, — but certainly there is nothing in this task of carrying sand that makes it especially appropriate for incorrigible old bachelors. The gist of the matter is simply that the labor is fruitless and unending. That the fablers had nothing else in mind is apparent from an inspection of the same authorities that Waser quotes, — especially Tobler,² who refers to a number of popular sayings, some of them humorously conceived, about the fate of old maids in the other world, — as, for instance, that they are condemned to sift snow, to split flax-seed, offer matches for sale in hell, and so on.

In the end, therefore, it seems more reasonable to accede to the opinion of Milchhöfer that the idea of a punishment like that of the Danaids arose from some familiar domestic proverb about the uselessness of attempting to fill a leaky vessel. The paroemiographers say that the old saw *ὡς τὸν τετρημένον πίθον ἀντλεῖν* grew out of the Danaid myth or the fables about the fate of the uninitiated; but the reverse process

¹ See Veckenstedt, *Wendische Sagen und Märchen*, pp. 54, 7 and 9; 56, 12; 106, 4; 110, 2; *Sagen der Zämaiten (Litauer)*, pp. 178-179, 180-181, 186-187.

² Tobler, *op. cit.* pp. 135 and 147.

is more natural and more likely. The task of carrying water in a perforated vessel is frequently mentioned and variously applied in the folk-lore of many nations.¹ Sometimes a demon of some sort is delayed and baffled by being sent to bring water in a sieve or a basket.² An ancient method of exorcism consisted in forbidding the evil spirit to return to his accustomed haunt until he had dipped all the water out of a pond with a sieve.³ Sometimes this task is the doom assigned to a wicked spirit.⁴ Again there are tales in which a human being who has fallen into the power of a witch is set to work bringing water in a sifter or a leaky pot.⁵ Then there is a whole cycle of stories of a moral, almost homiletic, cast, in which the task of the Danaids figures as a penalty for evil doers.⁶ These last, however, do not concern us, as there is reason to believe that they depend upon a literary tradition, which may go back to the Danaid myth itself.⁷

If the idea of a punishment consisting in the filling of a leaky vessel arose in the manner indicated, we must still remain in some doubt as to the time when it was first attributed to the Danaids. The mere fact that the literary allusions to the punishment of the Danaids are later than those which assign a similar punishment to the uninitiated, does

¹ Only a very captious critic would here object that the Danaid task consisted in filling the leaky *πίθος*, not in bringing water in leaky vessels. It is true that the broken pitchers are generally put in the hands of the *δούρροι*, but I cannot believe that these details are significant. Besides, it appears from Porphyry, *de abst.* 3, 27 that some story-tellers made the labor of the Danaids harder by giving them only sifters to carry water in.

² Schiefner, *Awarische Texte*, pp. 27-28; Schneller, *Märchen und Sagen aus Wälschtirol*, p. 202.

³ Sommer, *Sagen aus Sachsen und Thüringen*, no. 10; Strackerjan, *Aberglauben und Sagen aus Oldenburg*, I, p. 202, § 183; Veckenstedt, *Mythen und Sagen der Zamaiten*, II, p. 144.

⁴ J. M. Mackinlay, *Folk-lore of Scottish Lochs and Springs*, pp. 138 and 182; cf. Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, I, p. 203.

⁵ Grimm, *Märchen*, no. 79; Joseph Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales* (ed. 1898), p. 215, cf. p. 260. See also Joel Chandler Harris, *Uncle Remus: His Songs and his Sayings* (ed. 1881), p. 99.

⁶ Sébillot, *Contes des Provinces de France*, pp. 227, 229; Schleicher, *Litauische Märchen*, pp. 72, 74; Ralston, *Russian Tales*, p. 335; Grimm, *Märchen*, no. 79.

⁷ Johannes Bolte, in *Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Philol.* XX, p. 333, finds a Greek prototype of stories of this class in a life of Arsenius by Theodorus Studita († 826).

not, in view of the scanty evidence, prove beyond question that the torment of the *δμύηροι* is an older conception and that the idea of the labor of the Danaids sprang from it. The task of the Danaids is, indeed, a later addition to the myth in this sense, that a moralizing fable that makes the blood-stained sisterhood expiate their crime in Hades must be later than the rude folk-story which is the basis of the Danaid myth. In that, as we have seen, the wicked sisters were put to death by the sole survivor of the fifty brothers, and there was an end of the matter. Recent investigators tell us that Greek ideas about the punishment of the wicked in the other world took shape under the influence of mystic teachings, and that mystic eschatology is in a special sense responsible for the introduction of certain "property figures" of Tartarus, such as Ixion, Sisypheus, and others. If this is true, then the introduction of the Danaids among the other famous criminals of Hades may also be due to the influence of the mysteries. But I should still contend that their peculiar task was assigned to them without regard to the question whether it was especially suitable for them or not. The labor of filling the leaky vessel was fixed upon the Danaids arbitrarily, — because they were evil-doers, not because they had done wrong in some particular way, — just as the task of Sisypheus was given to him without reference to the character of his crimes. The fact that the Danaid task was also the punishment of those who neglected the mysteries, is only a proof that it was not appropriate exclusively to either the Danaids or the *δμύηροι*.¹

¹ I add a list of passages referring either to Danaus or the Danaids, which there was no occasion to cite in the course of the paper: Eur. *H. F.* 1016; Paus. 10, 10, 5; Philostr. *Vita Apollon.* 7, 7; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 384; Cic. *Parad.* 44; Ovid, *Trist.* 3, 1, 62, *Ars. Am.* 1, 74, *Ibis*, 355; Propert. 2, 31, 4; 4, 7, 63; Verg. *Aen.* 10, 497, *Stat. Theb.* 5, 118, and Lactantius *ad loc.*; Schol. Germ. S. p. 172 f. (ed. Breysig); Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 502, *Herc. Oet.* 952, 962. Plato, *Menex.* p. 245 D. The fragments of the *Danaides* of Aristophanes contribute nothing to our knowledge of the myth, and very little is learned from the remnants of Aeschylus' tetralogy on the subject. Timesitheus wrote two tragedies about the Danaids, Nicochares a comedy about Amymone; see Suidas, s. v. *Τιμοσιθεος*, and Athen. X, 426 f.

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